

of Europe; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. FLANNAGAN:

H. R. 3643. A bill for the relief of Rebecca Collins and W. W. Collins; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. POWERS:

H. R. 3644. A bill for the relief of Louis T. Klauder; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'NEAL:

H. R. 3645. A bill for the relief of Mary Agnes Lichtefeld Drollman; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3488. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of Rosso Fisher and other citizens of Follansbee, W. Va., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3489. By Mr. HAGEN: Petition of Mrs. A. M. Nilsestuen, secretary of the Zion Lutheran Ladies Aid, and Mrs. H. O. Moen, both of Blackduck, Minn., and other members of the society and residents of Blackduck and community, advocating passage of House bill 2082, a bill prohibiting manufacture, sale, and/or transportation of alcoholic liquors for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3490. By Mr. SADOWSKI: Petition of the International Union, United Automobile Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations, protesting against the passage of House bill 3477 which seeks to stop food subsidies; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3491. By Mr. COCHRAN: Petition submitted by Harry F. Pallmeier, secretary-treasurer of Joint Council No. 4, United Shoe Workers of America, and 335 other citizens, urging the Congress to provide money for subsidies which they feel will assure the roll-back of prices; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3492. By Mrs. NORTON: Petition signed by 5,500 war workers of northern New Jersey, supporting the President's program of price control, including the use of limited subsidies, and calling for a progressive war-tax program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3493. By Mr. MICHENER: Petition submitted by Mrs. H. G. Pearce, of Gregory, Mich., and signed by 40 other residents of the community, urging enactment of the Bryson bill (H. R. 2082); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3494. By Mr. GWYNNE: Petition signed by sundry women of Mason City, Iowa, favoring House bill 2082, to prohibit the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3495. By Mr. HANCOCK: Petition of Mrs. William B. Coling and other residents of Syracuse, N. Y., favoring the passage of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3496. By Mr. MCGREGOR: Petition of sundry members of the Christiar Churches of Newark, Ohio, placing themselves on record as favoring the passage of the Bryson bill (H. R. 2082), which bill would prohibit the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages for the duration of the war and until demobilization is completed; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3497. By Mr. STEFAN: Petition of Alta McCollister and 20 other residents of Central

City, Nebr., urging enactment of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3498. By Mr. REED of Illinois: Petition of Robert Morris, of Batavia, Ill., and 24 citizens, urging enactment of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1943

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Father Michael S. Wasniewski, pastor, Holy Trinity Church, Pine Grove, Denmark, Wis., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and eternal God, Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth, Father of all mankind, look down from Thy heavenly throne upon us today here assembled in Thy presence. With a humble heart we acknowledge Thy supreme wisdom by which are guided the destinies of men individually and nations at large. We profess our weakness in comprehending things in the right sense and true light, unless we are enlightened by the Holy Spirit, who dispels all the darkness of our minds whenever there is a choice between right and wrong, as long as we are willing to adhere to the eternal and unchangeable laws of justice, fairness, mutual love, and universal brotherhood of all men and nations. We know we can accomplish these things if we follow the teaching of our Divine Master, Christ Jesus, who said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life. * * * If you abide in Me, and My words abide in you, you shall ask whatsoever you will, and it shall be done unto you." (John xv: 7.)

Inspired with this assurance of Thy Divine Son, we implore Thee, our Heavenly Father, to shower upon the representatives of our Nation the seven gifts of Thy Holy Spirit, that is, the gifts of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and fortitude, of knowledge and godliness and fear of the Lord, in order that all their deliberations and epoch-making decisions just now so important to the American Nation and to all liberty- and peace-loving people in all the world; that these men chosen by our American people, for the people, from among our people, may be courageously guided by that Divine Light and secure for all nations a speedy victory and a lasting peace.

I see in spirit this very moment oppressed nations, poor widows, starving orphans, looking forward and praying amid abundant tears to this very place where we are just now assembled—the Capitol of our American Government—a standing symbol of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

We, therefore, beseech Thee, our Creator and Conservator of the universe, who, in Thy divine wisdom, has allowed this terrible scourge of war to touch us, that Thou be unmindful of our past omissions, of our past indifference, of our past ingratitude; but that through the merits of the passion, death, and glorious resurrection of Thy Divine Son, and

through the graces that Thou hast showered down upon us, we may again be found worthy in Thy sight of the heritage of our fathers.

We beseech Thee, after this chastisement by which we may be cleansed from the past dross of indifference, the guile of pettiness, and the pride of personal ambitions, we may, through the mutual cooperation with Thy divine grace, be firmly grounded in the principles of love of God and man, seeking first Thy kingdom—with that guarantee—that all other things shall be added unto us.

We ask this in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Gatling, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 244. An act for the relief of Morris Left;

H. R. 273. An act to authorize settlement of individual claims of naval personnel for damage to private property shipped from Pearl Harbor, T. H., to San Francisco, Calif.;

H. R. 400. An act for the relief of Sigurd J. E. Wallstedt;

H. R. 560. An act for the relief of the Farrell-Argast Electric Co.;

H. R. 800. An act to provide for the issuance of a flag to the nearest relatives of certain persons who die in service in the land or naval forces of the United States;

H. R. 1049. An act for the relief of the estate of Hyman Wiener;

H. R. 1144. An act for the relief of Fred A. Flanders;

H. R. 1155. An act for the relief of Capt. Leland M. Mower and Lt. Percy K. Morrison;

H. R. 1202. An act to amend section 36 of the Criminal Code;

H. R. 1206. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to dispense with unnecessary renewals of oaths of office by civilian employees of the executive departments and independent establishments," approved August 14, 1937;

H. R. 1435. An act for the relief of Lillian C. Ferreira;

H. R. 1498. An act for the relief of Charles W. Ruckman;

H. R. 1555. An act for the relief of Arkansas Power & Light Co.;

H. R. 1622. An act to provide for a general term of the District Court for the District of Alaska at Anchorage, Alaska;

H. R. 1666. An act for the relief of Helen Engell Thompson;

H. R. 1769. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ina Mae Shipman;

H. R. 1887. An act for the relief of Harold E. Dalton;

H. R. 1889. An act for the relief of Andrew Williams;

H. R. 1918. An act for the relief of Edward A. Silvia;

H. R. 1920. An act for the relief of Marcus O. and Faye D. Rowland, the parents of George L. Rowland, deceased;

H. R. 2182. An act for the relief of John E. Haas;

H. R. 2244. An act for the relief of Frank and Nancy Foglia, parents of Frank Foglia, a minor, deceased;

H. R. 2600. An act for the relief of M. C. Roberts;

H. R. 2675. An act providing for payment to Nellie Starr McCorkle of accumulated leave accrued and payable to her deceased

husband, Capt. John Ray McCorkle, under the act of August 1, 1941 (ch. 348, 55 Stat. 616; 5 U. S. C., sec. 61a);

H. R. 2824. An act for the relief of Alice Stamps and Henrietta E. Stamps;

H. R. 2905. An act for the relief of Walter R. Jones, Mrs. Norma S. McKinney, and Mrs. Ella Swenson;

H. R. 2915. An act for the relief of the Pacific Construction Co.;

H. R. 3331. An act for the relief of Harry L. Smith; and

H. R. 3366. An act to amend section 409 of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to joint rates of freight forwarders and common carriers by motor vehicle.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 255. An act for the relief of Josephine M. Melchior;

S. 817. An act for the relief of George A. Rogers;

S. 921. An act for the relief of Mrs. Neola Cecile Tucker;

S. 932. An act to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania;

S. 949. An act for the relief of Mrs. Anna Runnebaum;

S. 1243. An act authorizing the construction and operation of demonstration plants to produce synthetic liquid fuels from coal, oil shale, and other substances, in order to aid the prosecution of the war, to conserve and increase the oil resources of the Nation, and for other purposes;

S. 1278. An act for the relief of Yellow Cab Transit Co.;

S. 1290. An act for the relief of William Carroll Knox; and

S. 1447. An act to remit claims of the United States on account of overpayments to part-time charwomen in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Acting President pro tempore had appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the Joint Select Committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agencies:

Department of Agriculture.

Department of the Navy.

Department of War.

Executive Office of the President (Office for Emergency Management).

Veterans' Administration.

War Manpower Commission (Selective Service System).

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 247. An act for the relief of Richard P. Beale and Eva M. Beale;

H. R. 937. An act for the relief of Mittie Pearl Nanny;

H. R. 1973. An act for the relief of Albert Ferguson and Ozelle Ferguson;

H. R. 2190. An act for the relief of Marguerite R. McElroy; and

H. R. 3363. An act extending the time within which applications under section 722 of the Internal Revenue Code must be made.

The message also announced that the Acting President pro tempore had ap-

pointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the Joint Select Committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agency:

Department of the Interior.

Department of Labor.

Department of the Navy.

Department of War.

Department of the Treasury.

Federal Works Agency.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, Mr. HADWEN C. FULLER, Representative-elect from the Thirty-second Congressional District of New York, is present and desires to take the oath of office. Inasmuch as there is no contest and no claim of irregularities in his election, I ask unanimous consent that the oath of office be now administered to him, notwithstanding the fact that his certificate of election has not yet arrived.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HADWEN C. FULLER, Representative-elect from the Thirty-second Congressional District of New York, appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

FULTON LEWIS, JR.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have addressed the following telegram to Mr. Miller McClintock, president of the Mutual Broadcasting System, New York:

Fulton Lewis, Jr., last night made a personal attack on me in connection with subsidies. I demand his time at an early date to answer him. Please advise me at once whether or not this will be arranged.

If the time is not arranged, as suggested, I expect to appeal to the Federal Communications Commission for an order requiring it.

SUGAR BEETS

Mr. OUTLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. OUTLAND. Mr. Speaker, for many weeks now the importance of the Department of Agriculture announcing the sugar-beet program for the coming year has been stressed. This is a matter of vital concern, not only to the farmers of California, where the planting season is already under way in many sections, but also to the entire country, because it involves our whole food production program. I understand now that the sugar price will not be announced until after the Commodity Credit Corporation bill has been voted upon in this House. Personally I had hoped

that at least a tentative program could have been announced before this—and had been informed that such a step was contemplated. However, every additional day's delay now is an additional handicap to our beet program, and if the Commodity Credit bill must first be passed, let us by all means expedite its discussion. I am certain that such speedy action will meet not only with the approval of the members of the entire California delegation, regardless of party, but also that of the great majority of the membership of the House.

TRIBUTE TO OUR PACIFIC SUBMARINE FLEET

Mr. THOMAS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[Mr. THOMAS of Texas addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

GENERALISSIMO FRANCO

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I notice in this morning's paper an article regarding a recent congratulatory message that the Generalissimo of the Spanish Government, Señor Franco, had sent to the puppet president of the Philippine Islands. I do not know how long this is going to go on with the Spanish Government, but, Mr. Speaker, if I were the Chief of Staff, I would not hesitate, if other major military obstacles were not in the way to a second front, I would march right through Spain.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of the regular order of business and other special orders today, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to speak for 25 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object to inquire of the gentleman if this request to speak is in furtherance of the declared and avowed purpose of some Members of the House to carry on a filibuster in reverse, or whether it is the purpose of giving information to the House?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman may answer that if he desires.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that I am required to answer such a question. However, for the information of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, may I say that I expect to speak on the subject of Norway and the Norwegian merchant marine. If the gentleman is interested in the post-war possibilities of helping small nations, I hope he will be present when I address the House on that subject today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the gentleman—

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, I ask unanimous consent that that committee may sit today during the session of the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair cannot entertain that request. A bill will be under consideration under the 5-minute rule this afternoon.

Mr. DONDERO. We have a number of witnesses from the Lake States, and that is the reason for the request.

The SPEAKER. We have a large program in the House this afternoon also.

FACILITIES FOR VISITORS OF PATIENTS AT WALTER REED HOSPITAL

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask the attention of the House today on a subject that I know will be close to all of us. On Sunday last, I went to Walter Reed Hospital to call on a young officer who has been absent from this country for 18 months, and who is a patient at that hospital. His wife had come down to see him, and what joy and hope she brought to him. He was very anxious about her having a place to stay during the few brief days she could be with him. I was surprised to learn that there are only 15 rooms at Walter Reed Hospital for the wives and mothers of our boys who are there.

I ask you to lend your aid, with mine, to bring this matter to the attention of the Committee on Military Affairs. I know that the hostess there at Walter Reed Hospital wishes for 100 rooms. I know they can be constructed rapidly and it will give some place for the mothers and wives of these patients to stay when they come to bring them hope and cheer.

I ask you to aid me in this work.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an article from the Weekly K. A. P. Review Agency of New York, regarding the formal adoption of the Lublin University by the Fordham University, in a unique ceremony.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD 10 resolutions from the Kern County Branch Cattlemen's Association.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

CEILING PRICES ON MEAT

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, weekly sales of hogs and cattle are held in my State of California. On yesterday, on account of the bungling of the price ceiling and point regulation by the Office of Price Administration, 500 or more head of hogs had to be returned to the farmers. There was no one to buy those hogs. The farmers had to return them to their farms and place them back on high, expensive feed and take a great loss. While a bunch of men down in the O. P. A. is bungling this meat program hourly and daily, our meat industry in the United States is suffering. I wonder who can answer to these farmers today or tomorrow or in the weeks to come.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

GEORGE W. LOFT

Mr. CAPOZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. CAPOZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, it is with sincere regret that I have learned of the passing of the Honorable George W. Loft, former Representative from the Thirteenth Congressional District, New York City, the district which it is now my remarks.

Mr. Loft was born on Division Street, New York City, on February 6, 1865, and attended the public schools. His father owned a candy store and he encouraged his son's interest in the business, which interest manifested itself at an early age.

The former Congressman eventually built up his own candy business, and at the height of his career Loft, Inc., was a nationally known firm, with stores in all parts of New York City.

In the autumn of 1913 he was elected, as a Democrat, to the Sixty-third Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Honorable Timothy D. Sullivan. He was reelected in 1914 to the Sixty-fourth Congress, served his term, and was not a candidate for renomination in 1916.

In 1918 Mayor Hylan, of New York City, appointed Mr. Loft chairman of the Mayor's Committee of National Defense. Several years later he was a member of the New York State Racing Commission and served in that capacity for a number of years. He retired from the candy business in 1929 and turned to banking. He founded the South

Shore Trust Co. and has served as president of same. He was also chairman of the board of the County Federal Savings & Loan Association.

Mr. Loft was active in many civic movements and he was regarded by all who knew him as a typical American gentleman, who brought credit and honor to the city of his birth. His passing has removed from the scene an American whose patriotism, vigor, and civic-mindedness we can ill afford to lose at this time.

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[Mr. BUSBEY addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a resolution adopted by the Windham County (Vt.) Farm Bureau.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday, following the address by the gentleman from California [Mr. SHEPPARD], I may address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

FORTY-EIGHT-HOUR WEEK

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[Mr. RUSSELL addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next after the conclusion of the business of the day and other special orders I may address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks and to include an address by Mr. William R. Boyd, Jr., to the members of the American Petroleum Institute in Chicago on November 10, 1943.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include therein a brief history of the Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyard, Inc., at Baltimore, Md.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

BETHLEHEM-FAIRFIELD SHIPYARD,
BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, for the past year and a half you and I have heard startling accounts and, accounts much to our satisfaction, concerning the miraculous accomplishments in the various shipbuilding yards in this country. Some of these yards have a set program for publicity. Other yards are too busy building ships to pay any attention to publicity, but let their record speak for labor, management, and production.

I particularly refer to the Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyard, Inc., of Baltimore, Md. Mr. A. B. Homer, president of this yard, and Mr. Jack Willis, vice president and general manager, have established records that are worthy of the utmost consideration. Jack Willis, whose dynamic personality and comprehensive knowledge of shipbuilding has obtained results far beyond the expectation of the most extravagant imagination.

I attribute the splendid work done at the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyards to the undisputed fact that Jack Willis and his associates not only take a personal interest in every one of the 48,000 employees but give the utmost consideration to the working conditions and the facilities that necessarily go with efficiency and production. There is very little publicity, if any, given to this yard. Willis and his official family are too busy building ships and making contributions to the war effort.

I have today extended my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD giving a comprehensive outline of the accomplishments of this great shipbuilding corporation.

Mr. Homer, Jack Willis, and the employees of the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard, we salute you.

In conclusion, it might be well to state that everything done by you, Jack Willis, and your organization, is done with this one thought in mind: This is our country, and above all it is God's country. You and your organization with your American determination for production are bound to keep it such. The boys in service appreciate your splendid efforts and the American people owe you a debt of gratitude.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

(Mr. O'BRIEN of New York and Mr. BUFFETT asked and were given permission to revise and extend their own remarks.)

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

LXXXIX—591

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a resolution, as follows:

Resolution requesting the Speaker to invite Secretary of State Cordell Hull to address the House of Representatives on the subject of the Moscow Conference

Resolved, That the Speaker is hereby requested to invite the Secretary of State of the United States, the Honorable Cordell Hull, to address, at an early date, the Members of the House of Representatives, during a recess taken for that purpose, on the subject of the Moscow Conference.

I have introduced this resolution because this House has had the privilege and the opportunity of hearing distinguished personages from Great Britain, the Netherlands, China; it has heard the Presidents of South American republics. And I am sure, in view of the importance of the event and the interest occasioned by Secretary Hull's visit to Moscow, that it is not out of order to suggest that this House may enjoy the privilege of hearing for a change from a distinguished American.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, Thursday, after the legislative business of the day and other special orders, I may address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, following the other special orders, I may address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the disposition of the previous orders already entered for today I may address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an article showing the contribution of the American Indian on our fighting fronts.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. PLOESER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD a radio speech delivered by my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILL].

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

BEDS FOR VISITING RELATIVES OF WOUNDED VETERANS AT WALTER REED

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to ad-

dress the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my own remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DEWEY] brought to the attention of the House the fact that there are so few beds in the Hostess House at Walter Reed for families of our wounded veterans. The Hostess House told me they could use 250 beds for families. I remind the House of the fact that the sight of a veteran's family often means the off chance of recovery. It means frequently for a man who is mentally distraught a glimmer of hope that brings back a gradual return of his full mental prowess. Also, I am sure the Members know the comfort it is to men who are not going to live, men who are desperately wounded and sick, to see the faces and feel the touch of their loved ones. Those men and women who have served 21 or 22 months overseas should see their families most especially. More rooms should be provided at the hostess houses.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute at this time.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I make this request for the purpose of calling to the attention of the membership the rating of the Appropriations Committee on the last deficiency appropriation bill just approved last week. Its allowance for an additional \$50,000,000 for war housing was absolutely unnecessary and a waste of money, to say nothing of critical materials and manpower.

Look at last Sunday's Bridgeport, Conn., paper. Nineteen hundred dormitories are ready, only 266 occupied. This is just another illustration of the waste of the taxpayers' money and critical materials. I offer the committee this proof. It is only one of many that has come to my desk recently.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on November 15, at the conclusion of business on the Speaker's desk and after any special orders already requested, I may be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL]?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. SPRINGER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include an article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BONNER]?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, following disposition of matters on the Speaker's table and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES]?

There was no objection.

THE CHILLICOTHE GAZETTE

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BREHM]?

There was no objection.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Speaker, in 1800 a newspaper was established in Chillicothe, Ohio, and published under the name of the Chillicothe Gazette.

This publication has continued since that date and is the oldest newspaper in the State of Ohio published continuously under the same name.

On November 11 fitting ceremonies will be held in the Deshler Wallick Hotel at Columbus, Ohio, commemorating this unusual achievement.

I congratulate Chillicothe on this honor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WILLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a letter and short resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. WILLEY]?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I asked this morning and received permission to speak for 30 minutes on Monday next. I ask unanimous consent that this time be given me on Tuesday next instead of Monday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS]?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD in two instances.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next at the conclusion of the legislative business in order for the day and after any special orders heretofore entered I may address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]?

There was no objection.

CONTINUATION OF GOVERNMENT OF PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 95.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the Senate Joint Resolution 95, with Mr. RICHARDS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the background of the pending resolution is that under the present Philippine law the term of office of President Quezon, the present President of the Philippine Republic, ends on the 15th of November 1943. Under the present law Mr. Osmeña on next Monday would succeed President Quezon as President of the Philippine Republic.

We are in the midst of a war. I do not need to tell the membership of this House that our enemies, the Japanese, have occupied the Philippines and are in control over there. I do not have to tell this body that the legislative and judicial branches of the Philippine Government are under the domination and control of the Japanese. Here in Washington are residing the President and Vice President of the Philippine Commonwealth, together with the members of their Cabinet, also the Resident Commissioner, the Honorable JOAQUIN M. ELIZALDE. All of these gentlemen who are officials of the Philippine Commonwealth have addressed to myself as chairman of the Insular Affairs Committee of the House and to Senator TYDINGS as chairman of a similar committee of the Senate a letter requesting that action be taken in the matter of the succession to the Presidency.

It has been felt by those who have long been considering this problem that in order to best demonstrate to the world that there is complete solidarity and complete unity in the desire of the leadership of the Philippine people to stand solidly back of the United States, that a resolution such as we now have under consideration be passed.

I may say that I not only have a letter from all of the legally constituted representatives of the Philippine Government in America, but I have communications from the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Interior endorsing the purpose of this resolution and requesting that it be passed.

I may say for the information of those who were not here yesterday that the general purpose of this resolution is to bring about a situation whereby when our troops get into the Philippine Islands, as they are going to, there will be no question of dissension over there, that all of the Filipino people will understand the fact that their leaders here have full cooperation and support, one with the other, and that they are supporting the Government of the United States, in order that the troops of our country may have the full cooperation of every Filipino in the islands when we enter.

At this time I include in my remarks a communication addressed to Senator TYDINGS and myself, signed by all of the responsible officials of the Philippine Republic in the United States; a letter from the Honorable Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; a letter from the State Department; and a letter from the Department of the Interior. They read as follows:

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES,

November 5, 1943.

Senator MILLARD E. TYDINGS,
Chairman, Senate Committee on
Territories and Insular Affairs.
Representative JASPER BELL,
Chairman, House Committee
on Insular Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We respectfully call to your attention and to the attention of the Congress of the United States conditions affecting the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines upon which you may wish to take action.

Under the provisions of our constitution, adopted by our people with the approval of the United States Government, the present incumbent of the office of the President will cease on November 15, 1943, and on the same date the Vice President will assume the Presidency.

Due to invasion and occupation of the Philippines by the Japanese, constitutional processes and normal functions of government have been interrupted in the Philippine Islands. While this condition prevails, the question of the Presidential succession under our constitution comes up for consideration.

If we were in the Philippines and our constitutional government there were functioning regularly, there would be no problem. But we are not in the Philippines, we are in the midst of a global war, and our constitutional system and democratic institutions are seriously jeopardized. The operation of the legislative and judicial branches are suspended by enemy occupation, and only the executive branch, which remains free from the enemy's action and is now temporarily established in Washington, is able to continue performing its functions.

Obviously constitutional government and democratic processes will not again function in the Philippines until law and order are reestablished.

Therefore, we, the President, the Vice President, and the other members of the war cabinet of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, respectfully submit this matter to the President and the Congress of the United States with the request that they review the whole situation and take such action as in their wisdom will best serve the interest of the Filipino people, their constitutional government, and the Government of the United States during this emergency. Congress may feel free to consider whether it would be to the best interest of both peoples to allow changes in the direction of the Commonwealth Government during the emergency, to continue the status quo until such time as the con-

stitutional and democratic processes are fully reestablished in the Philippines, or to follow such other course of action as in their opinion is required by the circumstances.

In the event that emergency legislation is enacted, we are confident that it will be made effective only for the duration of the war and to cover such period of time as is necessary to reestablish our constitutional processes in the Philippines, when we may proceed again under our own constitution.

We would be most thankful to the President and the Congress of the United States for whatever attention they may give to this matter.

We have the honor to remain,
Faithfully yours,

M. L. Quezon, President; S. Osmeña, Vice President; J. M. Elizalde, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States; Basilio J. Valvez, Chief of Staff, Secretary of National Defense; Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Information and Public Relations; Andres Soriano, Secretary of Finance; J. Hernandez, Auditor General; A. B. Rotor, Secretary to the President.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, November 9, 1943.

HON. C. JASPER BELL,
House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I have read the proposed Joint Resolution No. 189, "to provide for the continuation of the Government of the Philippine Islands," and hasten to advise you that in my opinion the passage of this resolution will greatly assist in a continuous and effective prosecution of the war effort to liberate the Philippines from the Japanese. I hope it may be adopted by both Houses promptly.

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON,
Secretary of War.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, November 8, 1943.

The Honorable C. JASPER BELL,
Chairman, Committee on Insular
Affairs, House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. BELL: It is my understanding that you will submit a joint resolution by which the present President and Vice President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall continue in their respective offices until the President of the United States shall proclaim that constitutional processes and normal functions of government shall have been restored in the Philippine Islands. Thereupon the tenure of office of the present President of the Commonwealth shall cease and the Vice President shall become President to serve until such time as his successor shall have been elected and qualified according to the Constitution and the laws of the Philippines.

The Department of State has been asked to comment on this proposal and I desire to state, in connection with the request, that the Department is in sympathy with the purpose of the legislation.

Sincerely yours,

E. R. STETTINIUS, Jr.,
Acting Secretary.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,

Washington, November 9, 1943.

HON. C. JASPER BELL,
Chairman, Committee on Insular
Affairs, House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. BELL: House Joint Resolution No. 189, recognizing that enemy action has interrupted the normal governmental processes of the Philippines, authorizes the temporary continuance in office of the President and Vice President of the Philippine Commonwealth.

I am advised that this resolution reflects the views of both President Quezon and Vice President Osmeña, the elected and now the only authoritative spokesmen for the Philippine people. For this reason, Secretary Ickes has authorized me to say, in his absence, that he approves the action which is now proposed.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL W. STRAUS,
Acting Secretary of the Interior.

Commissioner ELIZALDE, who is the spokesman in this body for the Filipino people, will address you and give his opinion of whether or not this resolution is the best thing for the Filipino people and for the people of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Does the gentleman have available and can he read to the Members of the House section 5 of article VII of the Philippine Constitution? I tried to get that from the Congressional Library yesterday but was unable to do so.

Mr. BELL. I am sure it is available. I am surprised the gentleman is unable to get it. I do not happen to have it in my file here at the moment.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Does any member of the gentleman's committee have it available to read to the House?

Mr. BELL. I do not know that any of them have it here on the floor of the House.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. I, too, want to know what section 5 of article VII of the constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines is, because this resolution really annuls that for the present time. We should like to hear it read.

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. COLE of New York. I think the House can be assured that section 5 of article VII of the Philippine Constitution provides for the regular election of the President and Vice President and prescribes their terms of office. It is that which this resolution seeks to amend.

Mr. BELL. Yes. I may say that under an amendment that, I believe, was passed in 1941, the constitution provides that the Vice President upon the termination of the term of the President on November 15, 1943, shall succeed him for a term of 2 years.

Mr. COLE of New York. May I ask the gentleman which resolution is before the House, the Senate resolution or the House resolution?

Mr. BELL. It is Senate Joint Resolution 95, which is identical with the House resolution.

Mr. COLE of New York. Not entirely, because the Senate resolution contains a provision which covers a situation that gave me some concern over the House

resolution; at least the Senate amendment of the Senate resolution.

Mr. BELL. If the gentleman will read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday he will find that Senate Joint Resolution 95 was amended on the floor of the Senate to conform with and become identical with the House resolution that appears as House Resolution 189, with the exception that this amendment was inserted in what otherwise would be House Resolution 189. It is a clarifying amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has again expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

To finish answering the question of the gentleman, the Senate amendment inserted language which, if placed in the House Joint Resolution, would appear on page 2, line 2, after the word "Philippines", "serving at the time of the introduction of this joint resolution." It is merely a clarifying amendment. Otherwise Senate Joint Resolution 95 is identical with House Joint Resolution 189.

Mr. COLE of New York. Did the House joint resolution provide for the procedure that would be followed after the President of the United States determined that order had been restored, in that the Vice President would succeed to the office of the Presidency of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and that an election would ensue after the proclamation of the President?

Mr. BELL. It does so provide.

Mr. COLE of New York. The House joint resolution did provide that?

Mr. BELL. Yes.

Mr. COLE of New York. That escaped my attention.

There is one other question I should like to have the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs answer in order that the House may be assured. In these days of dictators and one-man rule throughout the world, does the gentleman think the adoption of this resolution by the Congress and retaining in office indefinitely the two Filipino officials can be taken as any criterion or precedent which the American people might follow in 1944?

Mr. BELL. In the first place, the resolution does not retain him in office indefinitely. It merely retains him in office until order has been restored in the Philippines. According to the terms of the resolution, the Vice President succeeds the President when constitutional processes have been restored, until such time as his term has expired and their successors have been elected. The resolution so provides.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has again expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Mr. COLE of New York. But the gentleman does not feel that the adoption of this resolution is any indication that the Congress approves the idea that the American people, even in time of war, shall suspend the operation of their own Constitution and retain indefinitely, until constitutional and world orderliness

has been restored, the present Executives of the Government?

Mr. BELL. This is a war measure to bring about a situation which will help those people win the war and win their freedom, and leave them with their constitution intact. It certainly is not an attempt to change the constitution or to set a precedent for any future action.

Mr. COLE of New York. It is not a guide to the American people on the American Continent.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE. May I ask the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs to distinguish between the power of Congress to amend the Constitution of the Philippines and amending our own Constitution? Obviously we cannot by resolution of the Congress amend the Constitution of the United States. Do we have the power to amend the Constitution of the Philippines in this way?

Mr. BELL. Until 1946 the United States retains jurisdiction, that is, sovereignty over the Philippines. Until that time I think there is no question that we have the legal right and the power and the moral right to pass this resolution amending the law.

Mr. HOFFMAN. How does this action hook up with the Atlantic Charter proposition, that is, with letting the people decide for themselves?

Mr. BELL. This action is taken at the request of all of the representatives of the Filipino people. We are taking it, not at our own volition, but at their request.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has again expired.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER].

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, I am not at all happy in voting for this resolution. I think I speak the mind of many Members when I say that I am doing this solely because we are advised that the administration, the State Department, the War Department, and the Navy Department, as well as the President, Vice President, and cabinet of the Philippine Government, request this.

We all believe thoroughly that a people's government can best function through democratic constitutional processes. Accepting this concept, this Congress passed a law laying down a formula which, if followed by the Philippine people, would culminate in absolute independence for the Filipinos in 1946.

Pursuant to this law, the Filipinos formulated a constitution which was submitted to and approved by our Government. In accordance with its provisions Mr. Quezon was elected President, and Mr. Osmeña was elected Vice President. The constitution provides that on November 15, 1943, President Quezon's term expires, and he is automatically retired from office. The same constitution provides that in these circumstances, Mr. Osmeña, the Vice President,

automatically becomes the chief executive. In short, the Philippine people elected Mr. Quezon to be President until November 15, 1943, and elected Mr. Osmeña to be President when Mr. Quezon's term expires. This is what would have happened had the war not intervened.

The President, Vice President, and Philippine Cabinet have taken refuge in this country, and the Philippine Islands are under the control and domination of the Japanese Government. This is the present status as I understand it.

The purpose of this resolution is to change the terms of the Philippine Constitution, if possible, in three important ways:

First. The term of the elected President will be indefinitely continued.

Second. The Vice President will be continued as Vice President, and not promoted to the Presidency, the constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

Third. The Philippine Constitution, insofar as it affects tenure of office of the President and the Vice President, shall be suspended in the discretion of the President of the United States; that is, the resolution gives the President the authority by proclamation to determine if and when constitutional processes may again obtain in the Philippines. The Philippine Government, under its constitution, does not exist today. Japanese dictatorship controls the Philippines.

This proposed action is most foreign to our method of legislating. Only the most compelling and urgent necessities should warrant the passage of this resolution. Congress is told that these necessities exist; that the passage of this resolution will aid the war effort; and that its failure to pass will be detrimental to the war effort.

In these circumstances, I am constrained to vote for the resolution, and in doing so I entertain the fervent hope that the time is not far distant when our country may return to the American way of life, especially as practiced in its legislative halls.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I really believe that this resolution should be defeated. The facts are that the committee was called on very short notice, and very few were present. I think the record of the committee meeting will show that about a dozen were present. Half of them came in after the vote was taken. It is true that I did not oppose this resolution in the committee, but the evidence was so meager, the facts are so meager, that I do not think anyone knew just what they were doing. My information is that this President of the Philippines came over here and brought about 20 aides and servants along with him, and left his Cabinet there. Even the Vice President had to get a special order to go with the party. I believe had he brought his Cabinet with him, that Cabinet would be here today in support of the Government in exile instead of being the Cabinet of the puppet government of the Philippines set up by the Japanese. I

am wondering whether the passage of this resolution will not greatly hinder our dealings with the Philippines, and with those people in the Orient. I cannot understand why we should take action like this to keep an old man, who is too ill to attend to business, in office, and pass over a man who received 2 percent more votes than President Quezon did in the same election, who is abundantly able to attend to the duties. I am convinced that Washington and Philippine politics are back of this whole thing, that it is not to save life, but that it will cost a lot of lives, and anxiety in the days to come. I believe that to maintain our honor and prestige and strengthen our influence throughout the world we should defeat this resolution.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, this resolution proposes a very unusual procedure. There can be no doubt that it lies within the power of the Congress of the United States to suspend the provisions of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. That Commonwealth springs from the authority of the Congress of the United States in the first instance, and the authority of the United States Congress may be exercised in suspending it in part or temporarily. Be that as it may, and I am confident that statement of the situation is correct, I hope very much indeed that this resolution will be adopted. My support of it springs from my conviction that it will bring a distinct military advantage to us in the conduct of this war in the Far East, and especially in helping us to recover the Philippine Archipelago, and then carry out our promise of complete independence of the Philippines by 1946, in the event, of course, that hostilities have ceased, and order is restored by that time. The question is asked, Should these two men be kept in office during the duration? The fact is, as I understand it, that President Quezon represents, more than any other public figure in the Philippines, the aspirations of his people for independence. Second, he represents most conspicuously that spirit of resistance among the Filipinos against Japanese aggression. The suggestion was made a moment ago to the effect that a number of Quezon's Cabinet or government might have reached this country. The facts are, as I recollect them, that President Quezon was on the island of Corregidor when that fortress was under siege by the Japanese, cooperating 100 percent with General MacArthur. His cooperation was exceedingly important and so valued by General MacArthur. Obviously it was difficult under the conditions of that siege to arrange for the transportation of any considerable number of Filipino governmental officials.

It was a rather desperate undertaking as it was to get President Quezon out, and those who came with him, as it was a rather desperate undertaking for General MacArthur to obey the orders of the

President of the United States and leave for Australia. So I think no reflections can be cast against Mr. Quezon or Mr. Osmeña with respect to that particular incident. I happen to know that the military people regard this thing as of exceeding importance, largely, as I said a moment ago, due to the fact that President Quezon, in his present position, represents something of enormous importance to the Philippine people and their aspirations. The constitutional processes—the legal processes—in the Philippines have been suspended. There can be no elections so long as the Japanese are in control, except such puppet elections as may be gone through with under their domination. The whole Filipino people understand that.

This resolution does not create the impression amongst thoughtful Filipinos, or amongst any considerable group of people, that the people of the United States and the Congress of the United States are aiming to deprive the Filipinos ultimately of their liberty or independence; rather it is intended as a step toward further securing the ultimate recovery of their independence, and, in the meantime, drawing to ourselves their loyal cooperation during the great conflict upon which we are jointly embarked.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I join with the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER] in urging the adoption of this resolution. I hope that my friends who have some feelings of fear will pause for a moment and realize just what the situation is that confronts not only the people of the Philippines but we as Members of the House today in passing upon this matter.

We have been asked by two recognized and regularly elected officials, the President and Vice President of the Philippines, to adopt this action. Certainly they are doing it, as they consider, for the best interests of their people. They are interested in the restoration of the independence of the Philippines. So are we. They are actuated by self-interest, as they should be. So are we. I have repeatedly said that nations respond to interests, not to emotions. As I view this, it is a matter of interest which prompts them to do so. Certainly the patriotism of the President and Vice President of the Philippine Republic cannot be questioned. Certainly they feel that the course they have recommended to Congress is distinctly for the best interests of their own people and their own Government. I agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] in his observation that they must feel that this resolution is a strengthening guaranty of the complete independence of the people of the Philippines

when we have recaptured the Philippine Islands from the Japanese.

In addition to that we have the letter from Secretary Stimson. Certainly he is a man with a great career. You and I may disagree with him on this or that, but one thing is certain, we profoundly respect him as a great American and as a great public official. He was Secretary of State in a preceding administration and is now Secretary of War during this crisis. I think that all of us can recognize the weight that is attached to a recommendation coming from such a distinguished American and able public official.

We also have the attitude taken by the State Department. We have the request of the duly elected public officials of the Philippine Republic, the President and the Vice President. I do not know what their party is. I did not know there was a difference of party, to be frank, until yesterday. It makes no difference to me. Frankly, I did not know until yesterday which party either one belonged to. That may be a frank confession that might astonish some people, but I did not know until yesterday that there was a difference of political party between them. But, here they are, both joining. We are justified in assuming that they are actuated by the highest ideals of patriotism for their own people and their own country.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. I do not think the majority leader's excellent statement should go uncorrected, because it implies that the President and Vice President and all other officers asked that this bill be passed. Their letter says this:

Therefore, we, the President, the Vice President, and the other members of the war cabinet of the Commonwealth of the Philippines respectfully submit this matter to the President and the Congress of the United States with the request that they review the whole situation and take such action as in their wisdom will best serve the interest of the Filipino people, their constitutional government, and the Government of the United States during this emergency.

Then they outline the three possibilities we might take.

Mr. McCORMACK. Certainly the only construction that can be placed upon that letter is that they feel that the Congress should take some action under existing circumstances.

Mr. JUDD. To review the whole situation.

Mr. McCORMACK. Now, let us look at it from a practical angle. Suppose this was 1947 and there was complete independence. If these gentlemen were in exile, certainly they would be justified themselves in taking action which would assure the continuity of the government in exile. But by reason of the fact that this is 1943, it is necessary to come before Congress for action to extend their term of office as provided by the resolution.

Does any of us take the position that the President of Czechoslovakia is not justified in constituting himself with the other officials as the government in

exile? Does any one of us take the position with reference to Yugoslavia or any of the other governments that have been conquered in this war, that their governments in exile are not serving a very useful purpose? And in the wisdom of the President and the Vice President of the Philippine Republic they have petitioned Congress to take action. The natural inference to draw from that and the interpretation to place upon it is that they approve of action along the lines outlined in this resolution. Certainly it is for the best interest of the people of the Philippines to have the George Washington of the Philippines continuing in cooperation with the Vice President; and, certainly, it is for the best interests of our own people and our own soldiers when the reinvasion of the Philippines takes place.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has again expired.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD].

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, there are two things one must question in considering this bill: One is the wisdom of the bill itself, and the other is the wisdom of the method by which it is being rushed through—without hearings, without testimony from all concerned, without full deliberation by the proper committee, and only by objecting yesterday when it was suddenly brought up without notice were we given a chance to debate it even here on the floor of the House.

The Philippine Islands has a constitution that provides for the term of office of their President. Surely we ought to consider long and seriously before we with a sort of wave of the hand suspend that constitution, which was authorized by Congress, was worked out by a constitutional convention elected by the Filipino people, was approved by the President of the United States, and then approved overwhelmingly by the Filipino people in a national referendum.

When 2 years ago they reelected Mr. Quezon as their President it was known that he could serve for only 2 years, because he had already served 6 years, and the constitutional limitation upon the term of office of the President is 8 years. The 8 years will be up next Monday, November 15. They elected Mr. Osmeña as Vice President with full understanding that he would become President after 2 years, that he would be Vice President for 2 years and then President for 2 years.

The elections were held just a month or so before Pearl Harbor. At the time of the election, troops were partially mobilized, civilian defense had been organized, air-raid drills were being held—all knew they were likely to be plunged into war at any time. They elected Osmeña to be their Vice President, knowing there was a reasonable probability he would be a war President.

I asked certain questions yesterday which have not been answered, and I am going to ask them again: What evidence is there that there will be dissension or

any other bad results in the Philippine Islands if the Philippine Constitution is followed and the man allowed to become President who was elected to become President on November 15? If Mr. Quezon has been the symbol of Filipino liberty, he can certainly still be that symbol of liberty. I wonder if his influence among the Filipinos will not be greatly enhanced rather than reduced by his having followed their constitution and become also an elder statesman who always has such influence in the Orient. Can he not still broadcast to the Filipinos just as now? Can he not still urge them to resist quite as effectively as ex-President as he can as President?

If Mr. Quezon's retirement would leave no successor, if it would mean there would be no government, it would be different; but there will be no interruption in the Philippine Government-in-exile; the duly elected Vice President is here to take over; things can go along without hitch. As we prepare to climax the finest chapter in all colonial history by voluntarily setting free a subject people, practically the first time it has ever been done, do we want to get ourselves in the position of beginning to hedge on our professed belief that the Filipinos can be trusted to choose their own President? Other imperialistic nations have done that repeatedly in Asia; always have been able to produce a good reason at the last moment why actual power should not be given to the Asiatic peoples. Japan has always maintained that oriental nations would never get their full freedom from white powers until or unless they helped Japan wrest it from those powers. I wonder if we will not be building up in the minds of Chinese and other Asiatics, as well as Filipinos, suspicion and distrust and fear that will far more than offset any possible advantages of keeping Mr. Quezon in his official position.

I should like to ask again, Why wait until one week before the deadline to bring this matter before us? The Philippine Government has been in this country a year and a half. If the case is so strong for the bill, would it not be stronger to bring out the proposal in time to allow full, unhurried consideration? The Philippine Constitution has also been a symbol of liberty to 1,000,000,000 orientals. Is that a thing for Congress to set aside in such haste?

We have no word from the President of the United States recommending this drastic action as a war measure or for any other visible reason. If he, in an official letter, were to ask it for urgent reasons, I would, I think, not oppose it; but there is no such letter, and it seems to me that such a grave thing should not be done unless we are dead sure that the President of the United States favors it.

In our discussion yesterday, a good deal was said about Mr. Osmeña, the Vice President, being allegedly in favor of this bill; the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WRIGHT] said, for example:

It is significant to me that the Vice President, who would assume office by succession under normal constitutional processes, him-

self feels that it would be to the best interest of the Philippine Islands for the incumbent to remain in office.

On what evidence is such a statement made? There is no evidence in the letter jointly signed by the President, Vice President, and other Philippine officials in this country that he or they believe that it would be advisable for him not to become President at this time. If he were to refuse to sign this letter, after the Quezon people had been agitating it for weeks, he would certainly be criticized for trying to get himself in office, or putting his own career ahead of his nation's interests. I ask you, What else could he do but sign it? But you notice the letter very carefully does not commit him or any other signer to the thing proposed in this bill. He merely joins the others in respectfully submitting this matter to the President and the Congress of the United States with the request that they review the whole situation, and take such action as in their wisdom will best serve the interest of the Filipino people, their constitutional government, and the Government of the United States during this emergency.

Is refusing to accept the man they constitutionally elected to be their President after November 15 the way he can "best serve their constitutional government"? And without a moment's time in a regularly called committee meeting to "review the whole situation"?

Further, in their letter they suggest not one, but three possibilities for us to consider: "Whether it would be to the best interests of both peoples to allow changes in the direction of the Commonwealth Government during the emergency," that is by allowing the Vice President to become President as he is legally supposed to, or second, "to continue the status quo until such time as the constitutional and democratic processes are fully reestablished in the Philippines," or third, "to follow such other course of action as in their opinion is required by the circumstances."

How can it be maintained that Vice President Osmeña or the other officials have urged that the present incumbent be kept in office "in the interest of the Philippine Islands"? All they ask is that in these troubled times, and since the issue has been raised by President Quezon and others, we review the whole situation and do whatever in our wisdom seems right and best; whether one of the two courses they suggest, or third, any other course that seems advisable to us as being for the best interest of the Filipino people and their constitutional government. I believe we should grant their request. Therefore I shall offer at the proper time a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Insular Affairs, that it may "review the whole situation" before this Congress takes so serious and so momentous a step.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a correction. I have every respect for the gentleman who just

spoke. He made the statement, as I understand it, that the bill was passed out of the committee without hearings. The gentleman was out of town, but there was a quorum of the committee and it was discussed for 2 or 3 hours; the communications were submitted to the committee and read and considered by the committee. All the members present unanimously voted to recommend this bill favorably.

Mr. Chairman, I now yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WRIGHT].

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, like the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BELL], I also have the greatest respect for the sincerity and also the learning of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUD]. I do not believe that there is now in the House or the House that will be in session in 1946 anyone who is not or will not be in favor of all of our pledges being kept to the Philippines. It has been suggested that constitutional government is being suspended by the action that we are about to take. Constitutional government is not being suspended. A provision of the constitution is being suspended.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield? I would like to hear that provision read.

Mr. WRIGHT. Will the gentleman allow me to continue? I am sorry I have to refuse to yield at this time.

The civil government of the Philippines was destroyed by the Japanese occupation. It is no longer possible for them to have an election as was contemplated when the Constitution of the Philippines was adopted. Under the constitution an election was provided at the end of the presidential term. The amendment provides that the Vice President succeeds him for 2 years, and then an election should be held for both President and Vice President. It is impossible to have an election to determine whether the Philippine people wish to continue Mr. Quezon in office because of the emergency. The Vice President is agreeable that Quezon remain in office. It is a fair inference that the provision for the succession of the Vice President contemplated continuation of civil government and regular free elections.

It has been said that there will be no dissension if we do not pass this bill. We want something more positive than the prevention of dissension. We want somebody at the head of the Philippines who might be able to symbolize for them a leadership to lead them to resistance against the Japanese, who are ravaging their islands at the present time. The State Department under the leadership of the very distinguished Cordell Hull, who has recently done so much for this country, is in favor of the pending bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may desire to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] has given most compelling reasons for voting for this bill. It is along the road of winning the war, and, therefore, I shall support it.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, for those who want to refer to the letter of the Acting Secretary of State, it is on page 9308 of the RECORD of yesterday. The letter of the Acting Secretary of the Interior favoring the resolution and the letter of the Secretary of War are also on page 9308.

As to the authority to pass the resolution, no matter what the provisions of the Philippine Constitution are, you will find a brief on that at page 9204 of the RECORD. If you want the specific case that makes clear the authority, it is One Hundred and First United States Reports, at page 133.

This problem has arisen in Belgium, Iceland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. In Poland the constitution itself provided that the President could appoint his successor in time of war. In Iceland they created a new constitution and in Belgium Parliament is acting in exile, while in Czechoslovakia President Benes was continued until his successor is elected, so that he continued from 1942 on.

There is one provision in the address of Hon. Frank Murphy, former Governor of the Philippines, that I think is applicable here, as follows:

The personal aspect of government should be minimized. All officials should be humble before the majesty of the law. Above personal success and personal loyalty, the good citizen and true patriot will place the supremacy of the law, duty to the state, and devotion to the public good and welfare.

In my judgment, since the Secretary of State says the present status should be continued he ought to be the guiding sign for this Congress. I urge that the resolution should be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON].

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote for this bill for a number of reasons.

What is the situation in the Philippines at this moment? The fundamental fact is that the Philippines is our Territory and will be American Territory until 1946.

Where is the American flag? Under the heel of the Japanese conqueror. Where are the Philippine people? Under the heel of the conquerors. They have conquered us and driven us out of the islands, and still we are fussing around here about a constitution. Where is the Constitution of the Philippines? It is where our flag and our Territory is—under the heel of the Japanese conquerors.

We have a situation here proposed by the Philippine leaders who have distinguished themselves in wise leadership in days gone by, who have the confidence completely of our Government and of their own people. They are in exile. That is all the local Philippine Government there is. Argument about the constitution is simply shadow boxing, because there is nothing we can do while the islands remain in the possession of the Japs. That is where the Filipinos are now. So there is no constitution to bother with. The Japs have it in the ditch where they have our flag.

Since this proposal is approved by Mr. Stimson, who is probably the best-informed man on the Philippines in the Government at this moment, by the President, by the State Department, by Mr. Quezon and Mr. Osmeña—who have been respected by us as men of quality and character, and who are cooperating with us and are looking forward to the time when the Philippines will be an independent nation under our friendship and, if necessary, protection—it seems to me the best thing for us to do is to pass this resolution.

The facts of the case are predominant. In face of these serious facts, all the finest-spun theories about this or that constitution that is going to be violated, mean nothing. Why, everything in the Philippines is violated. The Japs have their bayonets at the belly of every citizen. They are raping the women, they are murdering the children. They have torn up the constitution, and they have got our flag under their feet. So why should we fuss and worry about what the constitution says? This seems to be business that needs to be done at this time promptly in the interest of furthering the leadership of these two very necessary and competent gentlemen. In the abstract, the constitutional question is sound enough. But in the concrete, the military question is paramount. This is a case where the facts outweigh all theories. And this is why I shall vote for this resolution.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. LEMKE].

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, I am surprised at the statement made by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON]. He states that there is no Philippine Constitution. He would have us believe that the temporary conquest by Japan destroyed the constitution. He apparently forgets that we still have a Constitution in the United States and that nowhere in that Constitution is the Congress given the right to annul the constitution of other nations. Members of Congress took an oath of office to respect that instrument known as the Constitution. Congress should have respect for the constitutions of other people.

I wonder if we really know what we are doing. We are asked by this resolution in effect to reelect the President of the Philippines for the duration. This is violation of the compact we made with the Philippine people by the act of

March 24, 1934, a compact that we entered into with them when we granted them the right to frame their own constitution and to elect their own President and Vice President.

The questionable argument may be used that we have a right to change this compact without the consent of the Philippine people. I deny this. Rights once given irrevocably cannot be recalled without the consent of the people whom it affects. The Philippine Constitution was framed legally by those people with our assistance and was approved by the United States. I shall not be one of those to give my consent to such dishonest camouflage.

We are asked to continue the President of the Philippines in office for the duration. That duration to be decided by our President. This in violation of our solemn pledge when we granted the Filipinos partial independence and gave them the right to adopt a constitution and to elect their own President and Vice President. We are asked to do this under the pretense that we have a constitutional right to do so. We have no such constitutional authority except to the extent that we are willing and able to enforce it by force.

Under the Philippine Constitution no person can hold office for more than 8 years. After that he is ineligible. Their constitution further provides that when the President becomes ineligible, that then the Vice President shall become the President. When the people elected the present President and Vice President they knew that the President could not serve for more than two terms. In fact, he agreed to that in the campaign. It was understood that the Vice President should become President on November 15, 1943. The Japanese invasion does not change that constitution.

Both the President and the Vice President are in this country. There is no reason to believe that the Vice President is not just as patriotic as the President. In fact, he is more popular, because he got 1,446,213 votes to the President's 1,340,638 votes, or a majority of 105,575 votes over the President. That is a remarkable instance where a Vice President gets more votes than a President. That speaks volumes. If we pass this resolution, we will create disunity. We will be playing right into the hands of the Japanese. We are showing that we have as little respect for the constitutions of other people as Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito.

We have no reason to doubt that the President is not just as patriotic as the Vice President, and if he is, he should not violate the constitution of his country. He ought to be the first one to insist that the Vice President take the office of President in accordance with the constitution.

The argument that we have a right to do this under the power to govern territories is false. The Philippines are no longer a Territory of the United States in the general acceptance of the word. We gave them their independence in 1934. We approved of their constitution

under which they elected their President and Vice President. We agreed to give them full and complete independence by 1946. The only reason for keeping a string on them until 1946 was to keep order. It was not for the purpose of changing their constitution.

If this resolution is passed, then we are guilty of the same thing that Japan was guilty of when it set up a puppet Chinese king in Manchukuo. The false pretense that we are acting under constitutional government will fool no one. It would be just as intelligent for us to pass a resolution resurrecting President Ebert as President of Germany.

We are told that the President of the Philippines and the Vice President and the Delegate here in this House all joined in signing a letter asking this to be done. The fact is that this is a misstatement of fact. The President and the Vice President of the Philippine Islands did not in that letter ask us to pass this resolution. The President and the Vice President of the Philippines could not do that without being traitors to their country.

The misrepresentations made to this House are unfair to the President and the Vice President of the Philippines. All that they asked in the letter was that this be considered by Congress. And the wise thing for Congress to do is to recognize the constitution and the laws of the Philippine Islands.

But we are told that our action shall not be taken as a precedent. How absurd. We do a thing and make it a precedent and then say it is not a precedent. We know that whenever an occasion arises those who wish to act in violation of constitutional laws will cite our action as a precedent notwithstanding our pious protest to the contrary.

There is danger in this resolution. This, of all times, is a time the United States should keep its skirts clean. It should not set an example of usurping power belonging to other people. If we do, there is danger that other nations may follow our example. Some other nation may decide it is its constitutional duty to set up a figurehead president for Poland, or a figurehead king or queen for Holland or for Belgium, and so forth. All this in the name of constitutional government, freedom, and democracy.

The only constitutional authority to continue the present President of the Philippine Islands in office is the war power. Our President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, can do that by proclamation if in his opinion military necessity requires it. I am satisfied that he will not do it. He knows better than that.

The passing of this resolution will lose American prestige throughout the world. It will lose American lives. It will create distrust in us throughout the world. Our lip service to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN].

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much that the gentleman

from California [Mr. WELCH] has honored me with closing general debate on this most important resolution. The reason I took the floor on yesterday with reservations of objection was for the purpose to make possible a full discussion of the resolution which changes the constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth Government. I felt that it was too important a piece of legislation to go through by unanimous consent. I have read the letters sent to Congress from the officials of the Philippine Government. I gathered from these letters that they wanted Congress to give a full review of the subject and I am gratified that we are abiding by that request and giving this resolution full discussion. I believe the Filipino people would appreciate the fact that this Congress is giving matters pertaining to their future serious and lengthy discussion. They cannot be heard because they are enslaved at this moment by our common enemy, the Japanese.

Mr. Chairman, I feel I know something about the Philippine Islands and also about the Filipino people. I served in the Philippines many years ago for the United States Government and in 1935 I was privileged to visit the islands again with the congressional group when we went to Manila to assist in the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth Government. There are others in the House today who were present on that historical occasion. Among them is the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BELL], who is the able chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs.

It should be recalled that on that occasion the late Secretary of War, George Dern, represented our President and spoke to hundreds of thousands of Filipino people from the inauguration stand in Manila. At that time he stated in no uncertain words that the promise of the United States Government for full and complete independence was a real promise and that this promise of our Government would be carried out. We recall that the hundreds of thousands of people were high in their applause and praise for that promise and that they had no reason not to believe that we would carry out the promise. However, many things have occurred since that historical gathering. Rumors have reached Filipino people that perhaps we did not intend to keep our promise and that Philippine independence was a myth. But the American Government and the American people never intended to break the promise. They meant what we said. Our President has recently stated that this promise would not only be kept but I had the impression that the President favors an earlier independence if that can be brought about. The Filipino people believe these statements. They know that the word of the American Government is good. They have great confidence in us. I know that they believe in protecting and preserving the constitution they adopted for their own country as much as we do our own Constitution. For these and many other

reasons, Mr. Chairman, I was impelled to urge for the fullest consideration and debate on this resolution.

This resolution asks us to change the Philippine Constitution so that one of its provisions can be altered temporarily, as I understand it. The 18,000,000 people of the Philippine Islands know pretty well what is in that constitution. It is their constitution. Like our own Constitution, it is the foundation of the Philippine Government. They adopted it and the Government has been working under it. It provides that on November 15, 1943, the present President of the islands' Government, the Honorable Manuel Quezon, will be succeeded by the Vice President, the Honorable Sergio Osmeña. Both of these officials are now in the United States. The resolution asks that the constitution be changed so that the present incumbent remain as President until such time that the islands be recaptured from the Japanese, when the Vice President will assume office, or at such time as the people of the islands by an election select a new President.

Those of us who are constitutionalists and believe in constitutional government feel that the question we must decide is too important to pass over lightly. We must be given some fundamental and convincing reasons why we should take this serious step.

One argument is that to keep the present incumbent in office would aid in the winning of the war. Both officials affected are represented to us as of excellent character and almost equally known as heroes in the eyes of the Filipino people. We are told that the Department of State, the War and Navy Departments, and many others favor the resolution. Both the President and Vice President of the Philippine Government are said to favor the resolution. Some of the Members have told us that if the resolution is not passed it might give the Japanese some ammunition with which to propagandize in the Philippine Islands. Others feel that if we here take it into our own hands to destroy a constitution adopted by the Philippine people, that would give ammunition to the Japanese to carry on their propaganda among the Filipino people. So far as I can understand it, that will make little difference because the Japanese will resort to any kind of propaganda and they will garble for their own sinister uses anything that we do here. My main concern is that the Filipinos know that whatever we do here we are doing from the best of motives and for the best good and for the welfare of the Filipino people, and for the best interests of the Allies now joined together in a war against a common enemy. I am concerned about our promises to the people of the Philippines. They must know that we intend to keep our promises to them and that we mean that they shall be free and independent as soon as this war is over. If we are breaking promises and doing them harm by tearing up any part of their sacred constitution, that should not be done.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from California [Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON].

Mr. CALVIN D. JOHNSON. This resolution is a prelude to the recent move to grant independence to the Philippines. Granting independence at this time to the Philippines is political chicanery. It will, in my opinion, have the same effect as an order by this Congress extending the benefits of the Atlantic Charter to the peoples of Mars, and guaranteeing the "four freedoms" to the man in the moon. If this Congress is sincere the thing for us to do for the Philippines is to send to MacArthur the tools and materials to win them back and then their independence will be guaranteed. How can we, through a gesture that is purely psychological, expect to impress a people with our sincerity when we ignore the Pacific war by relegating it to a second-rate status. It is by our work and deeds that they shall know us and I for one do not believe that we can impress an oppressed people by political resolutions and insincere lip service.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time to the Resident Commissioner of the Philippine Islands, Mr. ELIZALDE.

Mr. ELIZALDE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support, in very strong support, of this resolution, and I am doing so in the name of the Government of the Philippines now in Washington. I am only supporting this resolution as a war measure. There is a letter of request signed by the President, the Vice President, and all of the members of the Cabinet, which has been inserted in the Record, supporting this measure. The Vice President of the Philippines authorized me this morning to speak in his behalf and say that he is perfectly in accord with this resolution. We have no quarrel at all about this measure. It has been outlined in full consultation. The Vice President in fact drew the letter that is now in the Record. I have all respect for the patriotism of the Vice President, and the support he has given to all of our efforts in this war. President Quezon, as you all know, has been for years the dominant figure in the Philippines. He has been the great leader of the Filipino people. He was a strong leader in the independence movement. As regards the war he took the side of the United States without reservation even before Pearl Harbor. After that he went to Corregidor with General MacArthur. I should like to point out here, in view of what has been said about his health, that in fact his sickness was caused by his hardships in the tunnels of Corregidor.

President Quezon was instrumental in the passage of the Jones Act, of the Independence Act, and in fact it was through him that the term of office of the President of the Philippines was limited to 8 years. I am sure some of the Members here will be interested to know how the

negotiations took place for bringing President Quezon from the Philippines to Washington.

In fact I personally took an important part in that work. I visited Secretary Stimson, who has been a great friend of the Philippines. It has not been said here yet that he was Governor General of the Philippines for 3 years. I saw Paul McNutt, Justice Murphy, and other friends of the Philippines. After this consultation a telegram was sent to President Quezon by President Roosevelt inviting him to leave the Philippines and come to Washington to be the head of the government in exile, and the symbol of Philippine redemption. When President Quezon got that telegram his reply was that he would not leave the Philippines, and that his wish was to stay with his people.

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ELIZALDE. I cannot, I am sorry. My time is limited. It was only after repeated requests that he came to the United States.

It was obviously understood that he was coming to be the head of the government in exile and the symbol of Philippine redemption. That is how he happened to come here. I cannot see how he could be the symbol of Philippine redemption for 1 or 2 months, or be expected to head the government in exile for a limited period. The understanding always was that this government was going to be in Washington with only one purpose, to set up a united front for the prosecution of the war and to recapture the Philippines. I cannot see how any Member can accuse the Philippine Government of playing politics in a matter of this kind. There is not a member of the Cabinet who does not have his family in the Philippines.

I, for one, have got all of mine there. I certainly would not do anything which would be politically harmful. I do this in the conviction that it will help the final redemption of the Philippines.

There has been truly a vile newspaper campaign here against this move. It has been said that some Filipinos are opposing this. On our part, we have taken no steps whatsoever to bring here thousands of telegrams which we could have very easily procured from Filipinos all over the country, supporting this move. It would have been a very simple thing.

I am very grateful to all who support this measure, strictly on the basis of a war necessity.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. All time has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That notwithstanding the provisions of section 5 of article VII of the amended Constitution of the Philippines, the present President and Vice President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines serving at the time of the introduction of this joint resolution shall continue in their respective offices until the President of the United States shall proclaim that constitutional processes and normal functions of government shall have been restored in the Philippine Islands. Thereupon, the tenure of office of the present

President of the Commonwealth shall cease and the Vice President shall become President to serve until such time as his successor shall have been elected and qualified according to the Constitution and the laws of the Philippines.

Mr. CELLER. I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, we have heard the very illuminating remarks of the distinguished Delegate from the Philippines, but aside from the cogency of his remarks which must compel us to vote for this resolution, remember military necessity requires it. The leaders of our armed forces so notify us.

We in Congress and the Executive are the reservoir of power. Out of that reservoir of power we gave this constitution to the Philippines. The power to create is the power to retract. As long as the constitution has not been acted upon and will not be acted upon and made effective until some future time, we have a right to change that constitution or suspend it in whole or in part. Ordinarily a constitution cannot be changed without ratification by the people living under it; but that is not the situation with reference to the change involved in this piece of legislation. That Philippine Constitution is not yet effective. It is effective upon independence. But aside from all that, I want to call attention to the fact that the head of the Spanish Government recently sent a cablegram to J. P. Laurel, selected by the Japanese to head the puppet government in Manila. That message congratulated the Philippines upon receiving independence from the Japanese, through its new regime. Now, imagine the temerity, the insulting conduct of this man Franco of Spain, offering that letter of congratulation to this puppet ruler set up by the Japanese over the Philippines.

If we do nothing else, we should show our deep resentment against the action of Franco, by passing this bill. We must remonstrate against his diabolical cunning, we must castigate Franco, this wretched man in his recognizing this Japanese puppet ruler as the head of the Philippines and beyond that, felicitating him. That is tantamount to felicitating the Japs, our mortal enemies.

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield.

Mr. LEMKE. Does anybody lack confidence in the Vice President? Why not make him President under the constitution?

Mr. CELLER. The Vice President himself consents to this resolution. He has joined with the President in asking us to pass it. For all practical purposes no harm can possibly be done; indeed, great good will flow therefrom. All the members of the Philippine Cabinet and responsible rulers of the Philippines will be satisfied.

I say again this man Franco should be chastised, and we can do it by passing this resolution. Franco sought to explain his mistake, and he called the message that he sent "An act of courtesy because of the affinity of blood, language,

and religion between the peoples of Spain and the Philippines." I call that explanation just balderdash. The explanation is worse than the original message. It brings to mind an old saying: "The more you poke an old pile the worse it stinks." The action of Franco is damnable. It is insulting to the memory of the boys who died in the Philippines at Bataan and on Corregidor. If you go outside at this very moment you will find an American flag flying. It was brought here from Guadalcanal and it is flying in the memory of those who went through the valley of the shadow at Guadalcanal, to help continue the independence of the Philippines. I for one want to crack the knuckles of this man Franco because of his wretched act in recognizing the independence of the Philippine Government as presided over by this puppet, José Laurel.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler] has expired.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. I would like to ask the members of the Committee handling this bill whether or not it is true that it was the understanding of the Filipino people, when they held their last election, that they were, in effect, electing two men, one to serve as President and the other one to serve as Vice President, and that the Vice President would become President on November 15, 1943. I would like to direct that question to the Chairman of the Committee.

Mr. ELIZALDE. I can answer that question. That is true.

Mr. CURTIS. Why was that arrangement made, do you know?

Mr. ELIZALDE. Well that was not merely an arrangement. The fact was that originally the term of office of the President was a 6-year term. When that term expired the people of the Philippines, I would say, requested that the term of office of President Quezon be extended.

Mr. CURTIS. But the Vice President was elected with the understanding—

Mr. ELIZALDE. I am coming to that.

Mr. CURTIS. I do not care to yield for a lengthy explanation, but I wish to know if it is not true that the people understood when they were voting for Vice President that he would become President on November 15, 1943.

Mr. ELIZALDE. I said it was true; but there was no war at that time.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. CURTIS. Not at this time.

I do not stand before the Committee today as an authority on the Philippine Islands. There are, however, some things about this resolution that I do not like. I do not like the idea of this Congress passing a resolution to keep anybody in office, to extend their term, to create a perpetuity in office because somebody says it is necessary. The State Department and the War Department say that this resolution is necessary. Suppose they say that individuals holding high office in the United States Gov-

ernment ought to have their term of office extended, but they cannot tell why because it is a military secret, should we extend their term? The Filipino people understood that they were electing a Vice President to take office as President on November 15 of this year. We should have a very good reason before we upset what these people have arranged for. It was a free election of a sovereign people. If the Vice President becomes President he will be the representative of the Filipino people. If we upset that and extend the term of the present President the Filipino people are not represented, but the individual who holds office is an agent of the Government of the United States.

Maybe it is true that the Japanese have put the Philippine Constitution under their heel and torn it up, but the principles of free government, the right to get rid of a man who is in office as well as to elect him in both peace and war is a principle that is the very essence of liberty in the hearts of men and never can be destroyed.

I feel that the proponents of this bill have failed to show any real necessity for this legislation. There will be a head of the Filipino Government if this resolution does not pass. It will be in accord with the election held and in accord with the Constitution of the Philippines. I do not think anyone disputes the fact that the present Vice President is an able man. He has served in the Philippine Assembly; I believe he was Speaker of the Philippine Assembly; he was a member of their constitutional convention. According to due process of law and in keeping with the election held by the people, this man will be the head of their government to carry on. There is no war necessity for this legislation.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I wonder if the gentleman does not feel that we are putting a propaganda weapon into the hands of the Japanese and the Nazis by this type of action. Because they will be able to propagandize people to the extent of saying that we are destroying the rights of self-determination under the Constitution instead of protecting them, as we are supposed to be doing in this hour.

Mr. CURTIS. I think that is true. I do believe that if one of the United Nations must extend the term of office of the head of its government in order to win the war, that principle would extend to all of the United Nations, including the United States, and certainly I do not subscribe to that. I do not accept the doctrine of the indispensable man.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. COFFEE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. COFFEE. Mr. Chairman, Manuel Quezon was elected President and Mr. Sergio Osmeña Vice President of the Philippines with the full knowledge of the people that Quezon's term expired in 2 years, on November 15, 1943, and that then President Quezon would be succeeded by Vice President Osmeña, according to the constitution, under the following provisions thereof:

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

After a long struggle to agree upon a constitution for the Philippines, one was finally adopted by a constitutional convention on February 8, 1935. Article VII, section 2, provided that the President "shall hold his office during a term of 6 years and, together with the Vice President chosen for the same term, shall be elected by direct vote of the people."

On September 15, 1939, the constitution was amended in a number of respects by the National Assembly of the Philippines and approved by the President of the United States. Three principal changes were the creation of a senate or upper house; the revision of article VII, section 2, to provide that the President and Vice President shall hold office "during a term of 4 years"; and an amendment to article VII, section 5, to provide that "no person shall serve as President for more than 8 consecutive years," counting "from the date he shall have commenced to act as President."

That is the very body and soul of the constitution—to limit the tenure of office of any one man.

Section 6 specifically provides that—

If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President shall act as President until a President shall have qualified.

Furthermore, section 8 of the same article provides:

In the event of the removal of the President from office, or of the termination of his right thereto under the provisions of the Constitution, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said officer, the same shall devolve on the Vice President.

The 8 years in which President Quezon has served in office expire November 15, 1943, as he, himself, agrees. Those who have continued to represent the Commonwealth Government of the Philippines in this country have done so on the theory that it is the same government that was functioning in Manila when the Japanese attacked the islands on December 8, 1941; this is the constitutional government of the Philippine people, established under the act of March 24, 1934, and under the Constitution of the Philippines. When this government left the Philippines for the United States via Australia, upon the request of the President of the United States—and he requested not only Quezon but the other leaders of the Philippine Government to come with him—it did not leave the constitution behind, but carried it along as the basis for

its legal existence, and as the source of its power. This is the *de jure* Government of the Philippines, and to destroy it by an act suspending the constitution would reduce it to little more than an improvised government, little better in legal theory than the so-called Japanese Philippine Republic, established by the Japanese by use of other accredited Philippine leaders shrewdly used by the Japanese to head the Japanese Philippine Republic, doubtless under threat of execution if cooperation was refused.

The Constitution of the Philippines should not be regarded as a mere geographical expression which ceased to exist when the Japanese occupied the islands. It is rather a statement of living principles and fundamental rules of procedure constituting a social compact which the Philippine people, after much thought and study, adopted as a form of organized society acceptable to them. Furthermore, the constitution is a compact between the United States and the Philippines. It would be a blow to the morale of the Philippine people and to the validity of our accredited Government here to set aside the clear language and normal functioning of the constitution on any theory whatsoever, so long as no necessity or valid reason therefor exists.

It ought to be added that Mr. Osmeña served as head of the state in Manila during all the period of the Japanese attack from December 8 to the evacuation to Corregidor on December 24, while Quezon lay ill in an air-raid shelter in the suburbs of Manila. Osmeña was present at the palace from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock at night, carrying on public business, inspecting the emergency hospitals created in the schools, and letting himself be seen by the public.

It is now well known that at the last Cabinet meeting held about the middle of December in the air-raid shelter in the suburbs of Manila, all members of the Philippine Cabinet expressed desire to be evacuated to Corregidor so that members of the Government could not be captured and utilized by the Japanese. Mr. Quezon opposed this, saying that the number of people were limited who could go to Corregidor. He took with him his personal household and servants, leaving behind all the officials of the Philippine Government for capture by the Japanese, with the exceptions of Justice Santos, who had already been assigned to certain duties at Corregidor as legal adviser, and Vice President Osmeña, who personally insisted with MacArthur and Sayre that he must be evacuated even at the risk of leaving his family behind, so that the Government of the Philippines would not cease to exist if Quezon, in his precarious state of health, did not live.

The question of whether or not Vice President Sergio Osmeña succeeds to the Presidency of the Philippine Government on November 15 at the expiration of President Manuel L. Quezon's 8 years of service in that capacity can be divorced

from any legal question and resolved into a matter of policy as to whether Congress wishes to set aside the mandate of the Philippine people at the last general election before the Japanese invasion on December 8, 1941.

At that election, out of 3,500,000 registered voters 2,000,000 voted—a firm demonstration of the fact that democracy was functioning in the Philippines. It is not widely known that the popular vote for Osmeña, Vice President, was greater than that of Quezon. Osmeña received 82 percent of the votes and Quezon 80 percent—last report of the High Commissioner of the Philippines, Francis Sayre, the sixth annual report, House Document 111. The nominations had been made at a regular convention duly called.

Osmeña, after first serving as Governor of Cebu was for about 16 years the principal political leader of the Philippines serving as Speaker of the Philippine Assembly before the Senate was created by constitutional amendment in 1935. He then had the support of Quezon who was the first majority floor leader of the assembly.

In the decade after 1935 when the Senate was established, the leadership of the Filipino people passed from the lower House to the Senate, when Mr. Quezon became leader and President of the Senate. A coalition was formed of the two wings of the Nationalist Party in 1935 in order to insure unity, Mr. Quezon leading one wing and Mr. Osmeña leading another. A coalition ticket with Quezon as President and Osmeña as Vice President was again confirmed by the people at the general election on November 11, 1941, just before the Japanese invasion.

The President and Vice President took their oaths of office at the entrance of the Malinta Tunnel at Corregidor before Chief Justice Jose Abad Santos in the presence of General MacArthur and United States Commissioner Sayre and other military and civilian officials on December 30, 1941, 3 days before Manila fell to the enemy. The results of the election had, as usual, been forwarded to Manila from the Provinces and had been widely publicized in the press and generally accepted as the action of the people.

FASCISM AND THE PHILIPPINES

The resolution suspending the Philippine Constitution is a dangerous quasi-fascistic piece of legislation that has come before Congress at this time when we are fighting a war to crush fascism. That some Filipino officials are for it is comparable roughly to the cases of nationals of countries who cooperate in the destruction of their own government.

The Philippine Constitution was not written by us but by the Filipino people through a constitutional convention, which required months to draft it. After the convention adopted it the Filipino electorate voted on it and approved it. Then the President of the United States approved it. These steps were all in accordance with the authorization that

Congress gave in the act of March 24, 1934, known as the Independence Act.

Under this constitution the Filipino people voted their President and Vice President to office for a specific term. They knew what they were doing. They voted Hon. Sergio Osmeña to succeed Hon. Manuel L. Quezon as President on November 15, 1943. They held the elections when everyone expected a war, well knowing that Osmeña would be their leader if war did come, as it actually came 27 days after that election. They certainly knew what they were doing.

Now this Congress in its might proposes to nullify their will and plan. It is as violent an action as the destruction of a government by force of arms. What is behind this move? Mr. Osmeña is here, eager and ready to succeed Mr. Quezon. He is a very competent, wise, and upright official. Let us not slam the door on his face. Let us not approve this resolution that would annihilate the foundation of the Philippine Government, which President Roosevelt has stated is the only legitimate Philippine Government in existence.

If we pass this resolution we shall be justly criticized the world over for being a wrecker of a country's constitution and sponsor of personal government. We should not be surprised if the Filipino people should doubt our good faith and fairness. This is no time to put them in that state of mind, for the Japanese are doing their best to wear them away from the United States. The suspension of the Philippine Constitution is clearly a distinct disservice to the war effort.

Mr. Chairman, President Quezon and his cabinet of five persons are for the resolution. Why not? It will continue Mr. Quezon in office. Mr. Osmeña joined with his signature in a letter to Congress to suggest some way to perfect their incomplete regime, but he has not given up, and he does not intend to give up, his right to the Presidency of the Philippines. He cannot very well do so because the Philippine people have given him that mandate and he does not propose to disregard it. He must not. I am sure he will not.

Mr. Chairman, our responsibility is to the Filipino people, not to the handful of officials in Washington. Our responsibility is to ourselves also not to be guilty of doing something that we condemn with voice and bullets elsewhere.

Let us not permit the Philippine Government to commit suicide here in Washington under our flag. It would be a national and international scandal of the first magnitude.

We must observe not only the constitutional process but also the democratic process. Let the Philippine Constitution march on without any tampering by us. Let its provisions be followed. Let Mr. Osmeña become President. In retirement Mr. Quezon can still be of service to his country. But the Filipino people's constitution must not be destroyed so he can remain in office. Mr. Osmeña will carry on, and carry on efficiently and splendidly, I am certain.

Mr. Chairman, I make a part of my remarks two illuminating articles which appeared in the Washington Post, one by Mr. Merlo J. Pusey, of the staff of that paper, and the other by Mr. Vicente Villamin, Filipino lawyer, who has studied Philippine-American questions deeply and extensively:

WARTIME WASHINGTON

(By Merlo Pusey)

A MAN OR A CONSTITUTION?

One of the strangest side-shows to be found in Washington these days is the movement by certain Filipino groups to upset their constitution so that Manuel Quezon may continue to be President. As the Constitution of the Commonwealth now stands, Mr. Quezon must yield his office on November 15 to Vice President Sergio Osmeña. But the idea of adhering to this democratic procedure becomes more and more distasteful to some followers of Mr. Quezon, to say nothing of his own attitude, as the date for him to step down approaches.

There is no question as to what the wishes of the Filipino people were when they first adopted and later amended their constitution. They sought to prevent one man from clinging to the Presidency for so long a period as to endanger the operation of democratic government. Back in 1935 President Quezon was wholly in accord with this view. He sponsored the provision fixing the term of the President at 6 years without the privilege of being reelected. When his 6 years as President were drawing to a close, however, he found himself still eager to hold on.

The constitution was amended in 1934 to fix the Presidential term at 4 years, with reelection permissible only once. Again Mr. Quezon supported the limitation. It is all too apparent now, however, that he is seeking ways and means of clinging to his post through the present emergency.

If the Filipinos had not chosen to write this safeguard against dictatorship into their basic law, there would be unquestioned advantages in retaining President Quezon as head of the Philippine Government in exile. He is undoubtedly the best-known Filipino of his time. He is an effective symbol of Filipino resistance to the Japanese invaders. Still the fact remains that an obstacle to Mr. Quezon's continuation in office is there, and it cannot be removed without smashing the Commonwealth constitution.

Col. Carlos Romulo, information secretary of the Commonwealth, has sent up a trial balloon to see what sentiment can be aroused for discarding the constitution in order to keep Mr. Quezon in office. He raises a question as to whether the basic law upon which the Filipino experiment in self-government rests is still operative. He even goes so far as to intimate that President Roosevelt could set aside the Philippine Constitution because of the war in the Far East. His comment very strongly suggests that the President is being importuned to use this high-handed means of extending Mr. Quezon's term.

An issue of the greatest importance to the Filipino people is thus clearly drawn. It is whether the leadership and political interests of one man shall prevail over their constitutional system. The present system has the strength of the Filipino people behind it. A regime continued in power in defiance of the constitution would have only the strength of Mr. Quezon behind it. Such flagrant disregard of the will of the Filipino people, when they last had an opportunity to express their will, would leave the islands without a legitimate government.

It is difficult to imagine a more devastating blow to the Filipinos' hopes of estab-

lishing a constitutional democracy. A few days ago they witnessed the inauguration at Manila of a puppet regime which proclaimed the "independence" of the Philippines under Japanese tutelage. Probably a great majority of the people understand the "phony" character of this "independence" and are waiting for a chance to fight for freedom and democracy. But what are they going to think if the creation of a Quisling government in Manila is followed by destruction of their constitutional system in Washington?

The only way of avoiding this calamity for the Filipino people is to face candidly and openly the nature of the proposal that seems to be in the offing.

The idea that war justifies abandonment of a constitutional system is the antithesis of democracy. Of course, war may result in smashing the constitutional system of a defeated country, if it has one. But that smashing is part of the defeat inflicted on the enemy. One reason we are fighting this war is to preserve our constitutional system. To use the same war as an excuse for destroying the Philippine constitutional system would be equivalent to inflicting the consequences of defeat upon our war and ally.

It is particularly absurd to suppose that President Roosevelt has any authority to set aside the Philippine Constitution. The Commonwealth now headed by Mr. Quezon was created by the Filipino people in accord with an act of Congress. Perhaps that system could be destroyed by the President as well as by the Japs, if he were willing to resort to fascistic methods. But he would be powerless to put a legitimate government in its place. And the example thus set would weigh heavily against constitutional government in the Philippines for many decades.

Adoption of such high-handed procedure by the United States Government does not appear to be likely. The immediate question is whether Filipino groups will seriously request a coup against their constitution, for any such act by itself would raise the issue of their capacity to maintain democratic government once their complete freedom has been attained.

PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT

(By Vicente Villamin)

CONSTITUTION-BUSTER

It is reported in the press that the President of the United States has been asked by the President of the Philippines to engage in the perilous business of constitution-busting by submitting to him for decision the question of whether the Philippine Constitution is still in operation here, although his Government has functioned under it since its arrival in Washington over a year ago.

On November 15 next, President Quezon will have reached the constitutional time limit of 3 consecutive years as President and will then have to give way to Vice President Sergio Osmeña. This is quite in accordance with the Philippine Constitution. If, however, the charter is declared inoperative, then President Quezon is expected to continue in office until the cessation of the war. That is the long and short of the situation.

The constitution, which may be set aside, came into existence by authority of the act of Congress of March 24, 1934, which provides for Philippine independence in 1946. It was drafted by a constitutional convention at Manila in 1935, adopted by the Filipino electorate, and approved by the President of the United States. If that act is a compact between the United States and the Philippines, the constitution is the essence of that compact, and it can only be dissolved by dissolving the act itself—a course that would reverse

America's liberal policy toward the Philippines.

Domestic legislation

Since the constitution is a part, by derivative process, of an American domestic legislation, there can be no doubt that it is in operation in the United States mainland, and its enforcement does not constitute extraterritoriality.

The temporary military occupation of the Philippines by the enemy does not diminish by an iota the American sovereignty in those islands, nor does it disturb the legal continuity of its juridical instrumentality there, which is the Philippine Government, wherever it may find itself through the exigencies of the war. It follows, therefore, that the constitution is in full force and effect, and its provisions should be observed as far as practicable *pendente bello*.

The sovereignty of the United States in any portion of its national domain, which includes the Philippines, is indestructible and coexists with the Nation's life; and any act of intrusion by any foreign power, however successful, affects only the physical possession of the domain thus occupied but not its sovereign ownership. The expulsion of the intruder is only a matter of time.

As the Japanese invaders have not, in law, destroyed the Philippine Government and its constitution in the incubus of American sovereignty, it is hard to understand the attempt now being made by some of its officials through the use of strained interpretations and in defiance of the principle of estoppel, to try to do what the invaders have not succeeded in doing.

The absurdity of the attempt is stressed by the suggestion that President Roosevelt intervene to preserve the Philippine Constitution and the Government under it, for once it is admitted that that constitution is operative here, the conclusion is irresistible that the President of the United States is being importuned to intervene to defend the constitution from the assault of no other than President Quezon himself.

Philippine assembly

The act of the Philippine Assembly of December 14, 1941, is believed by some to allow President Quezon, if he so desires, to disregard the constitutional time limitation. That act did nothing but empower him to take all legal measures and coordinate all activities and resources for the more effective waging of the war. It could not have authorized him to perpetuate himself in office for the assembly did not have that power. Such action would have amounted to amending the Constitution by unconstitutional methods. President Quezon's powers, under the above-mentioned act, were substantially similar to those of President Roosevelt's under the war-emergency laws, and no one would ever suggest that the American President would or could suspend or amend the Constitution of the United States so he can go on in office indefinitely.

The incumbent President and Vice President were elected on November 11 and took the oath of office under the constitution on December 30, 1941, 22 days after the Japanese began their invasion of the islands. Thus they recognized the authority of that fundamental document. Later they came here and functioned under it. There is now no consistency or justification in trying to eliminate it as the source of their authority and power.

If the Philippine Government succeeds in having its constitution suspended and busted—and that is the meaning of the invitation to President Roosevelt to pass on its validity when it is challenged by no one—by what authority would that Government then exist and function?

By unanimous consent, the pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, the fourth-termers are a foxy outfit, and the internationalists a shifty group.

The people of the Philippine Islands have a constitution. Acting under that constitution, they elected a President and a Vice President, who received a larger vote than did the President. President Quezon's constitutional term of office expires next week, and, under the terms of the constitution which the people of the islands adopted, their Vice President will next week, upon the retirement of their President, become President.

There is no evidence before us that President Quezon, whose term will expire next week, is indispensable, nor is there any evidence that the Vice President, who next week, under their constitution, will become President, is in any way disqualified or will in any way fail to serve the interest of the people of the islands as well as would the retiring President.

This resolution, if adopted, will substitute for the President elected by the people of the Philippine Islands, that is, the Vice President, who next week, under the islands constitution, will become President, the man whose term of office expires within a few days.

The Congress of the United States approved of this constitution, the people of the islands adopted it, and it has been the law of the land for several years.

Now, in time of war, the new dealers in our administration, the fourth-termers, are asking this Congress to abrogate the terms of the existing constitution; to declare that the man selected by the people of the islands to act as their President shall not hold that office, but that, in his place and stead, there shall be as President a man whose term of office, under the terms of their constitution, will have expired.

The resolution further provides that after we have deposed the constitutionally elected President of the islands we shall place in office this other man, and that he is to continue to hold that office "until the President of the United States proclaims that their successors have been duly elected and qualified in accordance with the constitution and laws of the Philippines."

Yet right now there is a man who has been elected in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the Philippines and who will be deprived of the office to which he was elected, and for which he is admittedly qualified, by our action today if this resolution is adopted.

The foxiness of the new dealers, of the fourth-term politicians, is apparent when we remember that, while this resolution is urged upon us as a war measure or, as some of its advocates admit, because they think it expedient, it will be used to lend force to the false argument that

President Roosevelt's continuance in office is likewise a "war measure" and "expedient."

If we continue Quezon as President because we are at war and as a gesture of expediency, what argument are we on the Republican side to make when Franklin D. Roosevelt asks to be continued as President of the United States? When that day comes, we shall be told that, being a war President, he should be continued in office until the war is over.

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON]—and he may take out of the RECORD what he said if he wishes, but I am putting it in now and it will not be taken out of my remarks—said, in substance, among other things, that the government of the islands was under the heel of the Japs, that the people of the islands were under the heel of the Japs, that the flag was under the heel of the Japs. Then, referring to previous arguments, he said: "Still we are piddling around about a constitution." Later, he said: "There is no constitution to bother with."

My own opinion has always been that the constitution of a country was the supreme law of that land and that, until it was repudiated, all owed allegiance to it and that the people of other lands and other nations were bound, by international law, as well as by common sense, fair play and justice, to respect the terms of that constitution.

Perhaps it should not be difficult to understand why anyone who believes in the establishment of an international government, which would supersede our Constitution, would not worry about the terms or the observance of the terms of the Constitution of the islands or of the United States of America.

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] says why fuss or worry about the Constitution of the Philippine Islands. If we are not going to fuss or worry about the Constitution of the Philippines, why worry about any constitution? Why worry about the Atlantic Charter? The doctrine behind the Atlantic Charter, the foundation on which it rests, is that the people of every nation shall have the right of self-determination.

Why not let the people of the islands choose their own leaders? Let me ask again: What is Quezon as President of the Philippine Islands going to do as long as the Japs have the islands? The only thing he can do is sit over here and attend some social functions or gatherings. What influence is he to have on the Philippine Islands, the conduct of the war, or the winning of the war? There is little he can do until, as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CALVIN JOHNSON] said, we have retaken the Philippine Islands, at which time let us hope constitutional government will be restored to the people.

It has been said that if this resolution is not passed the failure to do so will be used by the Japs for propaganda purposes.

If we refuse to recognize the duly elected President of the Philippine Islands, as we will by the passage of this resolution, and substitute for the ruler of the Philippines a man selected by the Congress of the United States, the Japs will use our action today as proof that we have repudiated our oft-repeated declaration that the people of the respective nations should be free to choose their own rulers.

If the Atlantic Charter means anything at all, it means that the people of the several countries and nations of the world shall have the right to select their own rulers.

Just as consistent would it be to try to justify Hitler in picking the ruler of Poland or any other country under his domination, as for the Congress of the United States here to say it believes in self-determination and then prevent the man who has been legally, constitutionally chosen by the people of the Philippine Islands as their leader from holding that office.

Not only the Japs but the Nazis will pick up our action here today and point to it as proof of a lack of sincerity in the promise made in the Atlantic Charter that the people of conquered lands should have the right to select their own rulers, their own form of government.

At least, let us be consistent.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, if I believed there were any reasons of military necessity or military significance for this resolution I might feel differently about it, but I do not believe such a case has been made out. There is only one question that confronts the House. By the passage of this resolution, the Congress will by positive action decide to set aside the Constitution of the Philippine Islands and determine who shall be president of the Philippines for a period in the future. On the other hand, if the Congress should defeat this resolution, it would leave the Constitution of the Philippines in act and there would thereby in normal course succeed to the presidency the present Vice President who, as has already been pointed out, was elected by the people of the Philippines with the understanding that that very thing was going to happen.

It appears to me that the wiser course of action for the American Congress to take, particularly in this tragic hour of the world's history, when a tremendous war for the preservation of constitutional democracy is being fought, is to defeat the resolution and to make it therefore possible for the Philippine Government-in-exile to continue to be in truth and in fact and in every other respect a constitutional government. I think that is important. The American Congress should not interfere with the normal functioning of the machinery which the Philippine people put into effect unless

there is the most pressing reason for such action.

Mention has been made of the action of the Vice President in going along with the letter that has been written. The claim has been made that thereby he has taken himself out of consideration in this matter. I do not believe the letter so reads at all. In signing the letter he has performed a fundamentally patriotic act. I do not care about the personalities involved. I believe the Vice President showed himself to be a big man in so doing. Most of the things I have said here have, it is true, been said already. I was deeply impressed by the remarks of the gentleman from Minnesota [Dr. Judd] and in spite of the strong support behind this resolution, in my own mind and heart I honestly believe it is an unwise thing for us to do and that it would be better for us to let the Constitution of the Philippines stand as it is.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. In addition to setting aside the constitution, it sets aside an election duly held in peacetimes in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. That is true.

Mr. LEMKE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. LEMKE. In addition to setting aside the constitution, that constitution, contrary to the statement made in the Well of the House by the Member from New York, was approved by the President of the United States; is that correct?

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I understand so.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I should like to see if we cannot reach an agreement as to time for debate on this resolution.

I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this resolution and all amendments thereto close in 15 minutes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, I should like to be assured of having 5 minutes to speak myself, and I am quite sure other Members wish to speak on the resolution.

Mr. MICHENER. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, I hope the gentleman will withdraw his request at this time. This is an important matter, and we have plenty of time, so there is no reason why we should not discuss it.

Mr. BELL. I withdraw the request, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have here a letter I should like to read and then ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs to help me answer it. I also address this request to the distinguished Commissioner from the Philippines. The letter was written to a mother whose son was killed when the Japs took Manila. The letter is signed by Mr. L. A. Moyer, executive director and

chief examiner of the United States Civil Service Commission, Retirement Division. It reads:

Mrs. THOMAS L. GRIMES,
Paoli, Ind.

DEAR MADAM: Referring to your application for payment of the amount due under the Civil Service Retirement Act in the case of William Lonzo Grimes, deceased, you are advised that before payment can be made it will be necessary for you to furnish this office with a certified copy of the public record of death, which may be obtained upon the payment of the usual fee, by communicating with the Registrar General, Manila, P. I.

To assist in the identification of your claim it is requested that this letter be returned with the death certificate.

By direction of the Commission:
Very respectfully,

L. A. MOYER.

That is a letter addressed to the mother of a boy in the service who was killed at Manila in the Philippine Islands, advising her to pay the usual fee to the registrar-general, Manila, P. I., to get a death certificate in order to collect insurance or certain other moneys due her.

Can the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs advise me how this mother can get that death certificate, and who is operating that office in Manila?

Mr. BELL. I would refer the gentleman to the Veterans' Administration. I am sure they can solve the problem for him.

Mr. WILSON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, for practical purposes the Constitution of the Philippine Islands is not operative at the present time. It is in existence as an instrument which will govern these islands when the Japs are driven out. To me, this then resolves itself almost completely into a question where military considerations must be taken into consideration as well as abstract legalistic considerations. I am not stating that legalistic or constitutional considerations are not important, but I do say I do not believe there is anybody in the House who has the idea that because we take this action today we are not going to restore the Constitution of the Philippines and defend it. I believe that is the unanimous sentiment of the House.

Now let us get to the military consideration. General MacArthur has said over and over again that he intends to invade the Philippine Islands. He also is behind this movement to retain Manuel Quezon as the President of the Philippines. I am informed. Why does he want to do that? Because he thinks there is nobody who can so mobilize the Philippine spirit behind a fight for independence and a fight against the aggression of the Japs as their patriot, the man who has led them to independence, Manuel Quezon.

I think this consideration should have the greatest weight in our minds today, because I think we cannot for one moment neglect the very important, I might say the primary consideration of

winning the war. After the war is won and the Japs are driven from the Philippines, I am quite sure the Congress of the United States in conformance with its pledge and in line with the same honor that has animated this country traditionally in its relations with other nations will reinstate the Constitution of the Philippines and will see that it is carried into effect and that our pledges to the Philippines are kept.

Inasmuch as the Secretary of War, our Secretary of State, and our high military men are behind this resolution, I think it is important that we pass the resolution today.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am inclined to think that in view of the turn this debate has taken, it may have been unfortunate that this resolution was brought to the floor of the House, but since it has been brought here I think it would be far more unfortunate if word went back to the Japs that we had failed to pass it.

I had the privilege and the honor of representing the Committee on Military Affairs at the inauguration of the Philippine Government in the fall of 1935. In that party was the Vice President of the United States, Mr. Garner, and the then Speaker of the House, Mr. Byrns, together with some 35 Senators and Representatives. I know first-hand the affection in which President Quezon is held by the Filipino people. I know the same about Vice President Osmeña, because our party was there at the inauguration. These men are both loved and revered by the Filipino people. They have been the leaders for independence for many years.

Mr. Quezon was once a Commissioner from the Philippine Islands to this House. He was the first great leader in the fight for Philippine independence. He has been their idol for all these years. They have trusted him to bring them full independence in 1946. The Japs moved in after Pearl Harbor. War came, and evidently at the insistence of General MacArthur and certainly at the insistence of the President of the United States, President Quezon and Vice President Osmeña sought refuge in Washington.

There is no constitution today in the Philippine Islands, because it has been trampled underfoot by the Japs. President Quezon and Vice President Osmeña are the symbol today of the Filipino people and of their constitution and law, whatever it may be. Any government or any constitution they have left is here in Washington and vested in their President and Vice President. They are the only ones dealing with the Allies and helping carry on the war.

I repeat that, in my judgment, it would be most unfortunate, now that the President, the Vice President, and the members of the Cabinet of the Government of the Philippines have sent a written communication here in which they unanimously request that these heads of

their government continue as they are at the present during this frightful emergency, if this resolution were not passed. This request has been supported by the Secretary of War, who was once the Governor General of the Philippines, the Secretary of State of our own country, and the Senate of the United States by a unanimous vote.

Remember that our enemies are in control of the situation in the Philippines and have under subjugation not only all of the Filipino people but several thousand American soldiers, including quite a good many from my own city, to say nothing of the entire National Guard of my sister State of New Mexico. To me it would be almost tragic to send word back to our enemies today that we will not pass this resolution, although the President and the Vice President of the Philippines have sent a communication here begging and pleading that in this their hour of peril and distress we not forsake or abandon them.

Oh, my friends, that is what we must think about. I do not want to argue the constitutionality of the question. There may be some question about it, but this is war. This is a terrible and total war. This is no time to get technical. You know that our boys are dying and starving in the prison camps in the Philippine Islands. They are being mistreated and abused by the most cruel enemy in all history. I repeat what was said a few moments ago, that the Vice President of the Philippines has shown magnificent courage and patriotism. In my judgment he is a great statesman. I heard him in his first inaugural address in Manila. President Quezon is also a great leader, and when those two men come here to the people who have been their friends, and are now their allies, when they come to the people who have made possible their independence and say, "Please let us stay as we are during the duration of the war," I think we should listen to them. It will bring comfort to the Japs if we refuse to pass this resolution.

Mr. GEAHART. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. Yes.

Mr. GEAHART. Is there any provision in the Philippine Constitution which authorizes this suspension upon the request of its President?

Mr. THOMASON. I do not know of any, but I think everything is suspended in time of war. There is no constitution and no government now in the Philippines. There is nothing there but tragedy, sorrow, and death. When our Secretary of War and Secretary of State say this will further the war effort, that is all I need to know, for they are in a better position to judge and advise than I. When both the President and Vice President of the Philippines join in the request, the least we can do is to grant it. This House ought to do like the Senate and pass this resolution unanimously.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment. The distinguished gentleman from Texas

[Mr. THOMASON], who has just spoken, is always logical and always thoughtful. On the points he raised much agreement could be expressed but let us carry his thought a little further. When he mentioned the message that may go back to Japan and to the Orient as the result of our deliberations this afternoon, he brought to mind the propaganda war that Japan has been carrying on. As I have understood it, the propaganda of the Japanese has been that after all is said and done, the white race, the white man, as personified in the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, likes to sit in the position where he can rule and overrule the people of the Orient.

The question of constitutionality, and of our power to act as this resolution proposes, was the first question that came to my mind when this bill came up. I asked that question of the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs this afternoon. He asserted that we have that right as a matter of sovereignty. Assuming that we do have, what shall we do with the question of overriding the expressed will of the Philippine people?

What shall we do with the fact that before the war started, before the Japs attacked the Philippines, the Philippine people in a free election, elected Mr. Quezon to continue for a period of time and then provided that the Vice President should succeed him?

I fear that the message that will go back to the Orient through Japan, if we pass this resolution, is that we set aside a free election by the Filipino people, taken when they were not at war. The thing that I fear, since this issue has been raised, is that the passage of this resolution setting aside that election will carry a far worse message to the Orient, than that Quezon is no longer President.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE. In a moment. If the basic consideration is the effect on the prosecution of the war and what Japan will say and how she will use our action, then we should consider what she will say if we set aside a free Philippine election. If the Vice President is the high caliber of man described by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON], if he is the man who gave that splendid speech, if he is the splendid character exhibited by self-sacrifice in signing this letter, and the Philippine people voted for him as a successor to Mr. Quezon at this time, then there should be no great fear as to his capacity to carry on. I yield now to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I was going to ask the gentleman this question. The effect this resolution would have upon the Filipinos it seems to me would be best determined by those who are here representing the Filipinos, rather than by us. It would be unfair for us to substitute our judgment and say we think it might be otherwise, when they say it would have the opposite effect.

Mr. CASE. As to that, in the first place, we have the voice of the Philippine people as expressed in a free election before the war. We are not substituting our judgment for theirs if we do nothing. We are accepting their judgment if we do not pass the resolution. To pass the resolution is to substitute our judgment for theirs as expressed at the polls when the Philippine people were free to express it.

Moreover, as I understand it, this letter to which attention has been called did not ask for the resolution that we have before us today, but asked for consideration of the situation by Congress, and asked that we determine what should be done. The situation is getting exactly what was requested—deliberate consideration. The debate this afternoon has been most helpful in bringing out certain important facts. Having reviewed the situation as requested, if we determine that it would be most dangerous to the principle of self-government and most dangerous to the principle of constitutional government to pass this resolution, then it should be defeated. We should not give Japan any fuel for her propaganda war in the Orient.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE] has expired.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, under the circumstances existing today, I think this is a good resolution and a good piece of legislation. Due to circumstances beyond the control of our Government, mighty as it is, and due to circumstances beyond the control of the Filipino people, their democratic form of government is in danger of expiring, if you please. As I understand it, the term of the President and Vice President—now in this country—is about to expire. This is a plan to keep that government alive; keep it in existence; to preserve the seeds of democratic government in the Philippines.

The development of the Philippines in the brief era between the close of the Spanish-American War and the present day, a little over 45 years, is a great exemplification of the fruits of democratic processes. Many of us can remember when our ships going to the Philippines were carrying school teachers and teaching personnel to go into that backward country and to train those oppressed people in the ways of democracy. In the brief time since 1898 we have prepared these people for self-rule and now we are proposing to set up a new government amongst the nations of the world. They are an enlightened people—people who have made great progress. I do not think the American people, with all of our power and might, are going to stand aside and see the fruits of those years of constructive effort struck down and the Philippine Nation go into oblivion. I think the Philippine Nation as a democracy is going forward. I think this bill is a step in that direction. I am in favor of it. I think that in holding up the torch of

enlightenment of the world today we are going to demonstrate the liberal policy of America. We are to prove to the world that we did not go into their country for the purpose of exploitation, as some of our associate nations are doing. We are going to carry the torch of enlightenment and of liberty to the Philippine people.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Idaho has expired.

The pro forma amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, for the enlightenment of those present who have not had time to read the RECORD I would like to read the letter of the Secretary of War in regard to this proposition:

DEAR MR. SENATOR: I have read the proposed joint resolution to provide for the continuation of the Government of the Philippine Islands and hasten to advise you that in my opinion the passage of this resolution will greatly assist in a continuous and effective prosecution of the war effort to liberate the Philippines from the Japanese. I hope it may be adopted by both Houses promptly.

From the Secretary of State, through Mr. Stettinius:

The Department of State has been asked to comment on this proposal, and I desire to state, in connection with their request, that the Department is in sympathy with the purpose of the legislation.

Senator VANDENBERG:

Personally I have hesitated very much about intrusion on our part into the constitutional processes of the Philippines themselves, but, Mr. President, in view of the fact that we seem to have a color of authority to do it, I know of no place where I would be more willing to turn for my conclusive advice in such a matter than to a joint agreement between Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña. Therefore, I am very happy indeed to support the joint resolution.

And, finally, Senator TYDINGS:

I should like to say to the Senator that the joint resolution as amended deals only with the time intervening between now and the reestablishment of civil processes in the Philippines. When that moment comes everything goes on exactly as it is provided for in the constitution. Prior to that time—that is, in the interval between now and then—the Filipinos themselves, as represented by the President, Vice President, and Cabinet on the one hand, and the Americans as represented by members of the Cabinet of our own Government, have all agreed, after a thorough survey of the circumstances, and in conjunction with Army and Navy advice, that this is a sound procedure for us to follow in order to accomplish perhaps the greatest good that can be accomplished in the emergency.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last five words.

Mr. Chairman, I personally feel that we would be making a great mistake if we did not pass this resolution. I think that anyone who plans to vote against it should be very thoughtful before casting that vote. Because of one thing we may be sure and that is that those men who are in charge of our military operations and of our diplomatic negotiations have given this matter very full

and thoughtful consideration. It is their opinion that it would be made easier for the progress of our armed forces, it would be easier for us to win the war if this resolution were acted upon favorably and with as much unanimity as possible.

We know that General MacArthur and Secretary Stimson want to retake the Philippines as quickly as possible. They are counting greatly upon the cooperation of the Filipino people. They have weighed this matter as to which way the cooperation can be most easily obtained, and their decision is that keeping in office the man who stands for Philippine independence, who is their great leader, will be of the greatest help to us and to them in our military operations. The reoccupation of the Philippines is going to cost the lives of many, many thousands of American boys. It may cost many more if we make a mistake here today.

It has been pointed out that the Filipino people voted for this term for Mr. Quezon back in 1941, but we did not appreciate the fact that the Philippine Islands were going to be invaded then, and how can we charge them with the knowledge that they were going to be invaded? They did not vote a longer term for Mr. Quezon because they had to vote as the ballots provided. They did not have a chance to say what they would want done in this contingency. How do we know what they would do today? The only way in the world we can reach any logical conclusion as to what they would do today is to take the word of the representatives who are here. Do any of you think that Mr. ELIZALDE, with members of his family living in the Philippine Islands, would stand for something he thought would hurt or delay our reconquest of the Philippines? We have been told that all these men have their families there. They are more vitally interested than any of us in the deliverance of the Philippines as soon as possible and certainly they would take no step, they would not recommend this legislation, unless they thought it was going to make it easier for the American soldiers and for the Filipino soldiers to retake these islands from Japan. So, Mr. Chairman, when the Members vote upon this matter, if they have any thought of voting against the resolution, I ask them to consider our own armed forces, that this is going to make it easier for them, that the passage of this resolution will make the retaking of these islands cost fewer American lives. Otherwise our officials would not have recommended it.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, I ask for recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, I have asked for time at this moment because I am going to leave here in a few minutes to go to the airport to welcome home one of the great Americans of all

time, Cordell Hull. I believe, if that great American statesman had the privilege of the floor today to speak, he would say to you what I seek to impress upon you: That it would be a tremendous mistake to defeat this resolution—to recommit it to a committee—because we in America must not, when we can help it, be misunderstood. This talk about abrogating a constitution should be weighed, in the light of the fact there is no government in the Philippine Islands today. The Japanese have charge of the Philippines, and what government the Filipinos have functions in the city of Washington.

Manuel Quezon has represented the people of the Philippine Islands for a quarter of a century here and in the islands themselves. Vice President Osmeña has been an outstanding statesman in the Philippine Islands for many, many years. Mr. Quezon and Mr. Osmeña believe they know not only the voice but the interests of the people of the Philippine Islands when their people are under the heel of a relentless enemy. Few men I have known in all my political life, or in the political history of this or any other country, have done a greater act of patriotism or self-effacement than Vice President Osmeña in this thing because, laying aside his personal desire to be the President of his native country, he has signed with the President of the Philippine Commonwealth the request that the Congress take this action. From the State Department, through the Under Secretary of State, speaking, of course, what he knows are the sentiments of the great Secretary of State, you are asked to pass this resolution. The Secretary of War, once a great Secretary of State and Governor General of the Philippine Islands, asks you upon grounds of self-defense for ourselves and the Filipino people, knowing them and their problems and knowing our problems in this war, to pass this resolution. I have never thought myself capable of performing in the place of an admiral or a general. I would be a bold man if I put my judgment on military matters against the judgment of a general or the Secretary of War; and for the moment, since this resolution is up, I want to repeat what was said by my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Texas (Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON)—that it would be tremendously hurtful, most unfortunate, if this House today should refuse to adopt the resolution under consideration.

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have carefully read the joint letter from the President and Vice President of the Philippines seeking to determine what request they had made. Nowhere do I find any request to adopt this particular resolution. They ask that we review the whole situation and then take such action as in our wisdom will best serve the interests of the Filipino people, their constitutional government, and the Government of the United States in this emergency. Having once taken the oath of office to maintain the Philippine Constitution they could not very well ask this House to

take any action to set aside any part of the Constitution for any time. Hence they have not asked for this resolution. They state further that Congress may feel free to consider whether it would be best to allow changes in the direction of the Commonwealth government during the emergency, second, to continue the status quo or, third, to follow such other course of action as in their opinion is required by the circumstances.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that this is a good time to declare to the people of the United States and to the people in the Philippines and the world at large that wars do not suspend constitutions, either of the United States or the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, time and time again upon this floor I have taken a solemn oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. When I came here I took no oath to be a party to any scheme to violate the constitution of any other friendly nation. If we pass this resolution today, we, constitutionalists, as we insist we are—we, who protest our belief in our hearts in the principles of constitutional government—will have given our consent to the tearing into shreds of the constitution of another—a brave, friendly, but distressed people.

The Constitution of the Philippines was adopted after painstaking deliberation by the people of the Philippines, and after further deliberations that constitution was amended to make it more perfect in its application to their particular conditions. That constitution, then adopted, today meets every problem of the emergency which is now upon them. It provides that the President shall not serve more than 8 years, and it also provides that when a President shall have completed 8 years' service the Vice President shall assume and perform the duties incident to the Presidential office until the President's successor is duly and lawfully and constitutionally selected, not by the decree of an American President but by the vote of the Philippine people.

The Vice President is here. He stands ready to hold his hand aloft and take the oath to protect and defend that constitution. There are no legal inhibitions to prevent him from faithfully performing, fully and completely, his constitutional responsibilities. So why should we Americans, 5,000 to 8,000 miles away from their soil, do for them that which I know they do not want, impose on them officials they did not elect, tear their constitution into shreds, prevent it operating as they themselves decreed it should operate when troubles such as these befall them?

How can we pretend to believe in constitutional government when we at the first opportunity flout and destroy and declare invalid the fundamental law of the Philippine Commonwealth? I feel that I would not only be violating the Constitution of the Philippines but that I would be violating my own oath to support the Constitution which governs this country. How can we ever oppose pro-

posals to suspend our Constitution just because "there is a war on" when we tear up another constitution of another free people just because "there is a war on?"

I beg of you not to create a condition that is going to be embarrassing to each and every one of you when you are under the examination of your people and they inquire of you, "Do you believe in the sanctity of the Constitution that governs us?"

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GEARHART. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Was it not President Quezon who engaged General MacArthur to lead his army and train his army? There is a very close bond, there is a very close connection between them. General MacArthur needs all the help he can get in the Pacific.

Mr. GEARHART. Of course, the Filipinos are our friends, and because they are our friends we should do everything in our power to protect their constitutional form of government during the days of their distress. Would they love us the more if we by force of American law set up a dictator to rule over them until the American President shall by proclamation release them from bondage? They elected Osmeña to act as their President after November 15, not Quezon.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. My point is that General MacArthur was hired by President Quezon. The Filipino soldiers were very loyal to General MacArthur and President Quezon and to the United States. We have a deep affection for them and gratitude. This measure is what General MacArthur wants and helpful to the Filipinos during this war.

Mr. GEARHART. Will they continue to hold their respect if we flout their fundamental law? Would you say we should have continued Woodrow Wilson in office for life just because he, during his lawful tenure, appointed Gen. John J. Pershing commander in chief of our armed forces during the course of the First World War? However appealing to some, this idea of perpetuation in office, the Constitution notwithstanding, it is destructive of free government, inimical to free institutions, the very antithesis of the constitutional scheme of things.

If this joint resolution passes, the administration will have, with the backing of a majority of the Members of the Congress, and by force alone of American law, set up a usurper in the Philippines, one who shall rule without the consent of the governed, contrary to their expressly declared desire, until—the President, by proclamation, shall terminate his tenure, not until the Filipino people shall themselves determine.

That, Mr. Chairman, is the very thing that we are fighting to destroy.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, it is my intention to support this resolution but I want it understood now that when

this war is over I am for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands.

One of the first bills introduced when I first came to Congress was for complete Philippine independence, but during 12 years of Republican administration I was unable to get a vote on it.

When this administration came into power a bill was passed providing for complete independence in 1946. I wanted to make it take effect at once.

But today we are at war. The bitterest, the most loathsome and savage and brutal enemy the American people have ever had is Japan. She has her foot on the necks of the Philippine people. We are going to need the Philippine Islands in order to destroy the Japanese Empire and I am not willing to take any step that is not approved by Mr. Quezon and Mr. Osmeña, the Philippine Government in exile.

Let me say, also, that it is amusing to me to hear some of you gentlemen talk about the Philippine Constitution when you so ingloriously raped the Constitution of the United States in connection with the poll-tax bill a few months ago.

I am not an interventionist. Secretary Hull is coming home today. The puny criticism of him that is coming from a little selfish group that wants to be mentioned personally reminds me of the old fable in which we are told that while Hercules cut off the heads of the monster the little crabs nibbled at his toes.

Cordell Hull has done a great work. The American people welcome him back with open arms. He believes in maintaining peace among the nations of the earth and not intervening in the internal affairs of other nations when the war is over. I remember when I was fighting for Philippine independence back in the twenties I could not get any help. I could not get my measure to the floor of the House. I asked the representative of the Philippines what was the matter. He said, "Sugar, sugar." The Sugar Trust of America did not want the Philippine Islands independent.

I was never at any time in favor of any nation intervening in China and imposing upon China the opium traffic. One of the great men with whom I have served was Stephen G. Potter, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who spent his life struggling to stamp out the opium traffic and to prevent its imposition on the people of a friendly nation.

I was here when you sent the armed forces down into Nicaragua. We got the report that it was for the purpose of seeing that they held an honest election. A Senator of your own party said, "Why in the hell didn't they send them to Philadelphia or Pittsburgh?" Come to find out, there were a couple of New York banks that had floated bonds in Nicaragua, and it was a question of intervention to prevent a certain man from becoming President, Vice President Moncado, I believe his name was, until he agreed to underwrite those bonds.

I was not in favor of backing up the Standard Oil Co. in stirring up a war between Bolivia and Paraguay. Let

us carry out our policies of nonintervention when this war is over, but help to maintain peace among the nations of the earth, and give the Philippine Islands complete independence without domination by any influence, or any combination of interests in the United States.

There you have a Christian nation. They were not heathen people when the New World was discovered. They killed Magellan with steel weapons in open combat in 1519. They had a high state of civilization long before Japan emerged as a world nuisance. They are today one of the few Christian nations in the Orient, yet they are under the domination of Japan, the most ruthless, the most brutal and savage bunch of apes that ever challenged the forces of civilization.

I shall vote for this resolution but I favor the complete independence of the Philippines when this war is over and Japan is destroyed.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I wonder what the people of America would think if our position and the position of the people in the Philippine Islands were just reversed. Suppose instead of the Philippine Islands we had been subjected and crushed under the cruel heel of Japan, so that every voice in our country had been silenced. Not one human voice can be heard from that great archipelago. The only voice that can speak today for that great and kindly people has spoken to this Congress in the most solemn manner. They have come to us, joining in a common cause, signing a common letter, saying to the great Congress of the United States and pleading with us, "Give us our war government as the people of the Philippines said we could have it; continue it until we can go back into the Philippines and reestablish the government that you the people of the United States gave us." That is all this resolution asks for.

I remember on one bright and beautiful day in the fall of 1935 when I as a member of an American party landed in Manila I saw the vast crowds of Filipino people there to welcome us. I never saw such a demonstration at any place or at any time as that in which they thanked the American people for the things we had done over a period of 25 years.

I was there for 2 weeks. As I looked about me there I realized one thing perhaps better than anything else, that Manuel Quezon and Mr. Osmeña, the Vice President, were the heroes of that great people. Today those two great Filipinos are speaking in unmistakable terms as to what they as the representatives of that people want the American people to do to help them regain their constitution, about which we have been talking. The Japs have torn that constitution into shreds. There is not one breath of freedom in those islands. These leaders, the leaders of the Filipino Nation, the only leaders who can speak for them, are pleading with you today not to gag at a gnat, not to talk about technicalities, but to give them relief.

I remember in those days the President of the Philippine Islands asked General

MacArthur to come down there and organize their defenses for them. General MacArthur spent the years following that down there working with the Filipino people. Let us do something for General MacArthur today. Let us give him this help, so that he can carry out his pledge to the world that he is coming back to the Philippines. He is coming back to Manila, and he is going to drive these despicable sons of Nippon away who have come into the Philippines, and restore to this great people down there in those islands constitutional government.

It has been said that no summer can be judged by a swallow and no winter can be judged by a single snowstorm. Neither can you judge a man or a people by a single act. For 25 years the great Nation of which we are a part bent every effort to train those people for self-government, ultimately to give it to them. We are just as earnest now in our desire to see that they have free government as we have been every moment of those long 25 years which elapsed before Japan took free government from them.

For a long time Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña have been the heroes of that nation. They have been the men who have led the fight for freedom. Can you conceive of such a thing as those two great and patriotic gentlemen being able to reverse the careers of a lifetime, after having sought freedom for those islands for 25 years, in fact, ever since they were old enough to fight or to vote or to think or to speak? Can you imagine such a thing as their coming here and joining in a request that the Congress take this sort of an action if they did not think it was for the best interests and for the future freedom of the people of the Philippines?

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment. The distinguished gentleman who just left the Well, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BELL], chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, has paid a distinct compliment to the President and Vice President of the Philippine Republic. If I am to judge the character of his remarks, they would indicate that in his opinion the President and the Vice President are heroic symbols of the people of the Philippines, and he lifted them to the same plane. In view of that statement, it seems to me that some inquiry is clearly in order. As I understand the situation, an election was held pursuant to constitutional authority in 1941. The present President and Vice President of the Philippines were duly elected and were inaugurated into their respective offices shortly before Pearl Harbor. It is an actual fact that we should bear in mind that the people of the Philippine Islands knew when they voted for a Vice President, that under the terms of their constitution, while the regular term of office of the President is for 4 years, the present President could not serve for a period longer than two terms. They knew then that under constitutional inhibitions his term of office would expire on the 15th of this month, 2 years before the expiration of the full constitutional term. They knew when they voted for

the present Vice President that under the terms of their constitution he would become the President of the Philippine Islands by operation of constitutional law on November 15, 1943.

It seems to me, therefore, that it is fair to assume that when they voted for this man as Vice President, they did so with full knowledge that on November 15, 1943, he would become the President of the Philippine Commonwealth. These facts have not been disputed. They are admitted by all people. The only answer that is given to the question as to why we should now set aside the Constitution of the Philippines and defy the will of their people is because of some nebulous theory that if we keep Emanuel Quezon in the office of President it is going to help win the war over there in the Philippines. This is speculative in the extreme and no tangible evidence is submitted. Mr. Quezon is here in the United States. The Vice President is here in the United States. If the Vice President so symbolizes the spirit of freedom and independence of the people of the Philippines as has been described by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BELL], who just left the Well of the House, then it seems to me that we need not expect anything but the fullest cooperation of the Philippine people in support of the man who should become President on November 15, and whom they, by their votes and under their constitution, declare should be their President on November 15. I have been unable to find any argument that would dispose of the contention that, under the constitution which we gave to the Philippines and which they adopted and which is the supreme law of their land today, the Vice President, whom all say is qualified and who as truly as President Quezon represents the hopes and aspirations of the people of the Philippines, should not become President. When reference is made to the letter that he signed, it is clear that there is not a word therein that indicates that he demands or even approves this resolution. Under these circumstances and in the absence of any word from the Commander in Chief, I cannot support this resolution, which in effect announces the theory that there is an indispensable man.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. MORRISON of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KEEFE], immediately before closing his remarks, declared that this Constitution of the Philippines is now the supreme law of the Philippine Islands. I dispute that. The fact is that we can have a de facto constitution as well as a de jure constitution, and the de facto constitution of the Philippine Islands is the law of the Tokyo dynasty, directed by the devil in hell, and not this constitution to which the gentleman refers. We are dealing with the de facto constitution in the Philippines, and not this paper that may be and is the just constitution of that land. And how are we dealing with it? We are not committing any great outrage upon it—simply allowing this Vice President, who speaks, instead of my

friend from Wisconsin, for the people, who would like to see him the President, and for the present President, who has agreed that this is the wise thing to do, to continue them in office. And why is it proposed that we do it? Not to outrage the constitution of this wronged and enslaved people, but to overcome the de facto constitution, the situation there, which is nothing but the will of the bloodiest group of cutthroats and murderers that ever disgraced any land in this age of time. We are to commit this little bit of outrage on the written constitution in this condition in order to make it alive and animated, to make it the supreme law of the Philippine Islands, and we are asked to do it by the men who are fighting the de facto government there in order that the right constitution may prevail. I ask you to vote for the President and the Vice President and the Government of the Philippines, for General MacArthur, for the Secretary of War of our people, and all the forces that are seeking to make the constitution, we profess such love for, again the supreme law of the Filipino people.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last several words.

I dislike to disagree with some of my colleagues on this question, but I think if you will read the letter of the present Government-in-exile of the Philippines you will conclude that in the event they did not desire us to consider this question favorably, there was no occasion for them to have written the letter in the first place. They evidently desire it and we should act. Had it been their desire for Mr. Osmeña to succeed to the Presidency no letter need have been written. As the Philippines are legally a possession of the United States until 1946 we have color of authority to act on behalf of the now enslaved Filipino people.

In the second place I think we will all recognize that the question of the Constitution of the Philippines is a moot question today. That constitution is in a state of suspended animation. It has no force and effect in the Philippine Islands whatsoever, as those islands and peoples are now under complete control of the Japanese war lords. The Government-in-exile of the Philippines is dealing with the governments of the Allied Nations here in Washington. Evidently our own Government officials desire to continue relations with the Philippine Government-in-exile as it is now constituted, and that is not in any sense derogatory to Vice President Osmeña.

It seems to me that in view of the fact that the Constitution of the Philippines is not in effect in the Philippines whatsoever, and has been in a state of suspended animation since the islands were conquered by the Japanese, we might well agree with the heads of our Government at this time to hold in like suspension the question of who shall be considered to be the next President of the Philippines. Unless and until the Philippines are liberated, the Presidency under their constitution will mean very little. He is a President without a country. I shall vote for the resolution which was unanimously approved by the

Senate and approved by the Secretaries of State, War, and Interior.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired. Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the resolution and all amendments thereto close in 20 minutes. The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last six words.

Mr. Chairman, I think the difficulty we are facing is because no plan was made in the Philippine Constitution for carrying on the true government in case of invasion. Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs last year we had Mr. Hambro, who is the Speaker of the Norwegian House, the President of their Storting, who described to us the way Norway had concocted a constitution which would create a legal official government in exile in case Norway was invaded, and would make it impossible constitutionally to create a government in Norway when it was under occupation by an enemy. The result is that Hitler himself has been embarrassed by the fact that the Norwegian Government in exile is the legal government and that his Quisling government does not have any foundation in law. The Belgians have similar provisions in their constitution. Those nations of Europe knew that there was a possibility of their being invaded and occupied. We never made such a plan, nor did the Filipinos, in devising their constitution, for the situation which has arisen where an occupying enemy might take advantage of technicalities in the constitution to erect a government which was in fact a puppet government. Since we did not make provision in the constitution in advance, it seems to me we are doing the best we can do under the circumstances. We are prolonging the life of what is obviously the real democratically chosen government of the republic, until such time as a free choice can be made.

This has not been the first time, nor will it be the last time that we will be faced with similar perplexing questions, but it seems to me that where military necessity and military demands coincide with what is obviously the unexpressed policy and will of the Philippines, we are making no mistake in taking this step which is proposed here today.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. CASE. I would like to ask the gentleman two questions, and I will ask them together so that he can get the import of them. First, if this resolution is not adopted and if the Vice President succeeds to the Presidency of the Philippines, to which he has been duly elected, is there any way in which the Japanese or the Filipinos, or anyone else can question the legitimacy of that government? Second, if we pass the resolution, setting aside the Philippine Constitution and their election, is it not true that the legitimacy of the Presidency and the Government of the Philippines could be questioned, and properly so?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. You have a baffling question on legitimacy, which the Japanese have tried to provoke by at-

tempting to create a new, legitimate government out there.

The United States still has sovereign power over the Philippine Government, and it seems to me that the constitutional questions are sufficiently answered by the memorandum and brief that have been filed. We have a hazy constitutional question, because, as I say, the Philippine Constitution does not provide for enemy occupation any more than our United States Constitution does. We never dreamed that that was going to be necessary. In the present situation, however, the practical military and political and diplomatic necessities are met by this action, which I feel confident we have the power to take, which will be thoroughly understood in the Philippines, insofar as they get word of it, and which will be more conducive to the final continuation of constitutional democratic government in the Philippines than to beg the question and to permit a succession to take place which would be used by the Japanese in their propaganda as meaning repudiation of the present President.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. DAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, we are confronted here today with a very serious question. Were it only the matter of helping the Filipinos and rescuing from those islands our beloved brothers who are there under the power of the cruel Japanese there could be no question what our decision would be; but I am of the opinion—and I could not sit here in my seat and have it go unchallenged—that simply because there has been a subjugation by the power of an enemy of a part, even though it be a part, even though it be a Territory, of the United States, that thereupon the Constitution of that territory—or, if you will, of a State—is gone and destroyed simply because of that use of force and violence.

The constitution lives in any country only so long as it lives in the hearts of its people. The Constitution of the Philippines will live as long as the Filipino people want it to endure and will fight to retain it. The Constitution of the United States will live in the hearts of the American people so long as the people here desire that it shall live and be sustained.

There is one feature of this resolution that has not been called to the attention of this body, and it is because of this that I take these few minutes. The resolution contains language to the effect that this suspension of the Constitution of the Philippine Islands shall continue until the President of the United States proclaims that their successors have been duly elected and qualified in accordance with the Constitution. In other words, the Constitution itself is set aside, suspended, and then there will never be an election in a part of the Territory of the United States, a Territory where flies the American flag, until the President says they can have an election. That is not law at all; that is only one man's word. Let me affirm here that this is a Government of law and not of men.

If we do not take this action, it will be brought back for further consideration. There will be no military loss, there will not be a single boy over there rescued any faster because of this resolution. This is no disrespect to General MacArthur or any of our forces. Not only that, but if we do pass this resolution we will have killed what is a part of the spirit and the theory of the equality of the United Nations. Most of the United Nations today except Russia, China, Britain, and ourselves are governments in exile; yet a government in exile is affected here today when it comes to the Philippine Islands. Let us be consistent, let us be honest, let us be courageous, let us be loyal, and hold as we did in the first days after the Spanish-American War that the "Constitution follows the flag." Our great Supreme Court upheld that doctrine. It was my own father who as a member of the Supreme Court of the United States wrote the opinion that made the dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case the law of the land. In this celebrated case he wrote the opinion proclaiming that the Constitution followed the flag and the opinion of himself and Justice Curtis became the law of the Philippines and constitutional liberty was established there.

So I say let us not be rushed in this matter. No loss will be sustained. Let it go out to the world, let it go to all the people in exile, let it go to all the countries and peoples who are looking to the great United States leadership that here in this body today we proclaim and raise this issue. The Constitution, the Constitution and the flag, one nation forever, with liberty for all its States and Territories.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, most of the education I have was obtained in the university of experience and the school of hard knocks. I cannot, therefore, get very much excited over some of the fine-spun theories I have heard expounded here today. We have before us a resolution that actually will affect only two people. Any other effect of this resolution will be psychological or propaganda effect. The only actual effect this resolution has on any human being so far as I can tell is on the President and the Vice President who are now in office as officials of the Philippine Government. I should like to emphasize what the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW] said: That if those two men, who are the only ones affected, did not believe the passage of this resolution would be helpful to their people, why did they write a letter to this Congress? Why did they write any message at all if they did not believe it? Why should the Vice President, who will be most affected by the passage of this resolution, join in a letter asking Congress to do something about it if he wanted the present constitutional provisions to be applied? There is no great constitutional question involved, because, as was so well said by the gen-

tleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON], the Constitution of the Philippines is functioning only in the exile government here in Washington through the two men who wrote this letter. They are the Philippine Government and are the only people who are operating under it.

As far as I am concerned, I am interested in whether or not this resolution will help us win the war. The two men it affects say it will; the Secretary of War says it will; the State Department says it will; and as long as we are fighting and our boys are dying in the South Pacific—and more of them are going to die taking back the Philippines—for myself, I am going to follow the advice of the men who are leading us in the war and the two men who would be affected by this resolution.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, surely we are agreed that the primary purpose of all of us here is to do that which will contribute most to the winning of the war and of the peace. Nobody differs on that. The point on which we differ is the wisdom of this measure, whether it really is the most effective thing that we can do to help win the war in the Philippine Islands and in the Pacific. I must say that the case is not proved just by the repeated blanket statements that these two elected officials have approved this measure as the wisest procedure, when in their letter they carefully and specifically state that what they want us to do is to review the whole situation and then decide what is best. There has been a good deal of agitation by persons who had certain reasons for keeping the present President of the Philippines in office. What else could they do except ask the Congress to review the situation?

We were begged this afternoon not to send out word to the Philippines that we had denied the request of their elected officials. It is because I do not want to deny their request that I ask you to recommit the bill to the committee so that we can review the situation as they asked. I do not want word to go out to them that we have ignored their request for us to consider all of the possibilities, because I believe such word would have very bad effects all over the Orient.

Today we have heard what has been said to be the voice of the great mass of Filipino people; but there are 125,000 Filipinos in this country and we have not had a chance to hear a single one of them testify regarding what they believe to be best for their mother country and their loved ones out there. They know all the ins and outs. They think on these matters and their nation's welfare day and night. Surely their views are worth hearing.

We have heard directly only from the Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands. He is our highly esteemed colleague, respected by all. However, he is not a representative of the Filipino people. He is as he told us yesterday an appointed official, appointed by the man whom it is pro-

posed that we keep in office after his term expires and after it is unconstitutional for him to remain in office. The Resident Commissioner is not chosen by the Filipinos in any referendum or election. He represents not the people, but the President who appointed him.

Therefore, I do not believe it is quite accurate to say he speaks for the Filipinos as would be the case if he had been chosen by them at an election.

I have not yet heard anyone make clear just what value or advantages are to be derived from keeping President Quezon in office that are adequate to offset or compensate for the great dangers and real disadvantages which most certainly will result from our choosing for the Filipinos their president, our nullifying their own election of the man they want to be their president, overriding their democratically expressed will. Can we lightly today begin to destroy the very democratic processes we have been nurturing so long and carefully in the Philippines, and of which we ourselves have been the leading exponents in the world during the last 175 years of history?

It seems to me we must recognize frankly that if we pass this bill today we will not be choosing a President for the Philippine Islands. Only its people can do that. We will rather be setting aside the man they chose to be their President beginning November 15, in order for us to establish in his place a personal agent of the United States Government. Let us be clear about this. He will not be their President, he will be our gauleiter, much as I dislike the word.

The man chosen by the Filipinos to succeed President Quezon is here, ready to take office. We, without a single charge against him or by any due process of law or impeachment, deprive him of his duly elected office, disregard the freely expressed will of his people, and put in his place a personal agent of this Government. Is that likely to help our cause in the Philippines? Or in Asia? Or even in Europe?

It has been truly said that President Quezon is held in great affection by his people. What affection or respect or influence will he lose by conforming with the constitution and the elections of his people?

The President of the United States is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and certainly he is as greatly concerned about winning this war with a minimum loss of American lives as any one of us can be. He has not been hesitant about advising us of his views in the past. Two or three weeks ago he sent us a message asking repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts because he thought it would be helpful to our war effort in Asia. Yet, he has not spoken on this issue. If this thing is so enormously important so far as winning the war is concerned, I cannot understand why the one chiefly responsible for the conduct of the war does not make clear to us as Commander in Chief what his wishes are. If for whatever reasons they cannot be made public, the function of executive sessions of various committees is to hear just such testimony. If we are

to be expected to take the responsibility of going against the freely expressed will of the Filipino people, then surely we are sufficiently responsible to be entrusted with some of the evidence on which that decision is to be based.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. I happen to be one of those who has not yet decided on this question. While admitting much that the gentleman says, what would happen if the Vice President becomes President and he dies before this war is over or should be killed or his term should expire before the war is over? Until 1946 the American flag flies there, and we have a direct responsibility until 1946. The gentleman talks about a gauleiter, but may I ask him who would take the place of the Vice President should the Vice President die after becoming President?

Mr. JUDD. That is a hypothetical situation that might develop. I said earlier that this proposal would be defensible if the Vice President were not here to take office, if to allow the term of President Quezon to expire would really interrupt constitutional processes. But this is not a hypothetical situation. The Vice President is here. The proper succession is at hand, the one duly chosen by the Filipino people themselves.

Mr. MASON. When that happens, then the Congress could act.

Mr. JUDD. Then the Congress ought to act.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 95) back to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and Mr. RAMSPECK having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, Mr. RICHARDS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration a joint resolution (S. J. Res. 95) to provide for the continuation of the Government of the Philippine Islands, had directed him to report the same back to the House with the recommendation that the joint resolution do pass.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the joint resolution to final passage.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Two hundred and twenty-one Members are present, a quorum.

The question is on the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the third reading of the resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. JUDD moves to recommit Joint Resolution 95 to the Committee on Insular Affairs with instructions to review the whole situation with further hearings, as requested by the officials of the Philippine Government now residing in Washington.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JUDD) there were—ayes 93, noes 132.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 119, nays 169, not voting 143, as follows:

[Roll No. 157]

YEAS—119

Allen, Ill.	Griffiths	Mundt
Andersen,	Gross	Murdock
H. Carl.	Gwynne	Murray, Wis.
Andersen,	Hall	O'Hara
August H.	Edwin Arthur	O'Konski
Angell	Heidinger	Phillips
Arnold	Herter	Ploeser
Auchincloss	Hess	Poulson
Baldwin, N. Y.	Hill	Ramey
Barrett	Hoeven	Reed, Ill.
Beall	Hoffman	Reed, N. Y.
Bennett, Mich.	Hollifield	Rees, Kans.
Bennett, Mo.	Horan	Rizley
Blshop	Hull	Rockwell
Boiton	Jeffrey	Rodgers, Pa.
Brehm	Jensen	Rogers, Calif.
Buffett	Johnson,	Rohrbough
Busbey	Anton, J.	Rowe
Carlson, Kans.	Johnson,	Schiffner
Carson, Ohio	Calvin D.	Schwabe
Carter	Johnson, Ind.	Scott
Case	Johnson, Ward	Scrivner
Chipperfield	Judd	Simpson, Ill.
Cleveland	Kean	Simpson, Pa.
Coffee	Keefe	Smith, Ohio
Cole, Mo.	Kinzer	Smith, Wis.
Cole, N. Y.	Knutson	Springer
Cunningham	Kunkel	Stefan
Curtis	LaFollette	Stevenson
Day	Lambertson	Talle
Dondero	Landis	Tibbott
Dworshak	LeFevre	Troutman
Ellis	Lewis, Ohio	Voorhis, Calif.
Elmer	McCowan	Weichel, Ohio
Engel, Mich.	McLean	Wheat
Fellows	Maas	Willey
Gale	Magnuson	Wilson
Gavin	Mason	Winter
Gearhart	Marrow	Wolcott
Gilchrist	Miller, Nebr.	Woodruff, Mich.
Gillette		
Graham		

NAYS—169

Abernethy	Bulwinkle	Cooley
Allen, La.	Burch, Va.	Cooper
Anderson, Calif.	Burdick	Courtney
Anderson,	Burgin	Cox
N. Mex.	Byrne	Cravens
Baldwin, Md.	Camp	Crosser
Bates, Ky.	Cannon, Mo.	Curley
Bell	Capozzoli	Davis
Bloom	Celler	Delaney
Bonner	Church	Dewey
Boykin	Clark	Dickstein
Brown, Ga.	Cochran	Dillweg
Bryson	Colmer	Dingell

Disney	Larcade	Priest
Domengeaux	Lea	Ramspeck
Doughton	LeCompte	Rankin
Drewry	Lesinski	Richards
Eaton	Ludlow	Rivers
Eberharter	Lynch	Robertson
Elliott	McCord	Robinson, Utah
Fisher	McCormack	Rogers, Mass.
Flannagan	McGehee	Rolph
Folger	McGranery	Rowan
Forand	McGregor	Russell
Ford	McMillan	Sadowski
Fulbright	McWilliams	Sasser
Gathings	Mahon	Sauthoff
Gibson	Maloney	Schuetz
Gordon	Manasco	Sheppard
Gore	Mansfield,	Smith, Va.
Gossett	Mont	Snyder
Cranger	Mansfield, Tex.	Spence
Grant, Ala.	May	Stearns, N. H.
Gregory	Michener	Sullivan
Hale	Miller, Conn.	Talbot
Hancock	Miller, Mo.	Tarver
Harless, Ariz.	Mills	Taylor
Harris, Va.	Monkiewicz	Thomas, Tex.
Hinshaw	Monroney	Thomason
Hobbs	Morrison, N. C.	Tolan
Hoch	Mruk	Vinson, Ga.
Hope	Murphy	Vorys, Ohio
Jarman	Murray, Tenn.	Wadsworth
Jenkins	Myers	Walter
Johnson,	Newsome	Ward
Luther A.	Norman	Weaver
Johnson,	Norrell	Weiss
Lyndon B.	Norton	Welch
Johnson, Okla.	O'Brien, Mich.	West
Kearney	O'Brien, N. Y.	White
Kefauver	O'Neal	Whitten
Kelley	Outland	Whittington
Kennedy	Patton	Wickersham
King	Peterson, Fla.	Wolverton, N. J.
Kirwan	Pittenger	Woodrum, Va.
Kleberg	Plumley	Wright
Klein	Poage	Zimmerman
Lanham	Price	

NOT VOTING—143

Andrews	Gavagan	O'Brien, Ill.
Arends	Gerlach	O'Connor
Barden	Gifford	O'Leary
Barry	Gillie	O'Toole
Bates, Mass.	Goodwin	Pace
Beckworth	Gorski	Patman
Bender	Grant, Ind.	Peterson, Ga.
Blackney	Green	Pfeifer
Bland	Hagen	Philbin
Boren	Hall,	Powers
Bradley, Mich.	Leonard W.	Pracht
Bradley, Pa.	Halleck	Rabaut
Brooks	Hare	Randolph
Brown, Ohio	Harness, Ind.	Reece, Tenn.
Buckley	Harris, Ark.	Robison, Ky.
Burchill, N. Y.	Hart	Sabath
Butler	Hartley	Satterfield
Canfield	Hays	Scanlon
Cannon, Fla.	Hébert	Shafer
Chapman	Heffernan	Sheridan
Chenoweth	Hendricks	Short
Clason	Holmes, Mass.	Sikes
Compton	Holmes, Wash.	Slaughter
Costello	Howell	Smith, Maine
Crawford	Izac	Smith, W. Va.
Cullen	Jackson	Somers, N. Y.
D'Alesandro	Jennings	Sparkman
Dawson	Johnson,	Stanley
Dies	J. Leroy	Starnes, Ala.
Dirksen	Jones	Stegall
Ditter	Kee	Stewart
Douglas	Keogh	Stockman
Durham	Kerr	Sumner, Ill.
Ellison, Md.	Kilburn	Sumners, Tex.
Ellsworth	Kilday	Sundstrom
Elston, Ohio	Lane	Taber
Engle, Calif.	Lewis, Colo.	Thomas, N. J.
Fay	Luce	Towe
Feighan	McKenzie	Treadway
Fenton	McMurray	Vincent, Ky.
Fernandez	Madden	Vursell
Fish	Marcantonio	Wasielewski
Fitzpatrick	Martin, Iowa	Wene
Fogarty	Martin, Mass.	Wheelchel, Ga.
Fuller	Merritt	Wigglesworth
Fulmer	Miller, Pa.	Winstead
Furlong	Morrison, La.	Wolfenden, Pa.
Gallagher	Mott	Worley
Gamble		

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Short for, with Mr. Peterson of Georgia against.

Mr. Harness of Indiana for, with Mr. Winstead against.
 Mr. Chenoweth for, with Mr. McMurray against.
 Mr. Gillie for, with Mr. Hébert against.
 Mr. Halleck for, with Mr. Sabbath against.
 Mr. Grant of Indiana for, with Mr. Durham against.
 Mr. Jones for, with Mr. Bland against.
 Mr. Shafer for, with Mr. Scanlon against.

General pairs:

Mr. Costello with Mr. Dirksen.
 Mr. Lewis of Colorado with Mr. Kilburn.
 Mr. Morrison of Louisiana with Mrs. Luce.
 Mr. Gavagan with Mr. Brown of Ohio.
 Mr. O'Brien of Illinois with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.
 Mr. Randolph with Mr. Ditter.
 Mr. Barry with Mr. Arends.
 Mr. Pace with Mr. Douglas.
 Mr. Starnes of Alabama with Mr. Compton.
 Mr. Gorski with Mr. Fish.
 Mr. Buckley with Mr. Goodwin.
 Mr. Steagall with Mr. Ellsworth.
 Mr. Hart with Mr. Hartley.
 Mr. Fay with Mr. Jennings.
 Mr. Satterfield with Mr. Powers.
 Mr. Burchill of New York with Mr. Andrews.
 Mr. Hare with Mr. Crawford.
 Mr. Keogh with Mr. Howell.
 Mr. Cannon of Florida with Mr. Gallagher.
 Mr. Merritt with Mr. Elston of Ohio.
 Mr. Sikes with Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts.

Mr. Fitzpatrick with Mr. Gamble.
 Mr. Vincent of Kentucky with Mr. Reece of Tennessee.

Mr. O'Leary with Mr. Fenton.
 Mr. Wheelchel of Georgia with Mrs. Smith of Maine.

Mr. Pfeiffer with Mr. Gifford.
 Mr. Kilday with Mr. Robison of Kentucky.
 Mr. Chapman with Miss Stanley.
 Mr. O'Toole with Mr. Wolfenden of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Cullen with Mr. Taber.
 Mr. Philbin with Mr. Butler.
 Mr. Lane with Mr. Thomas of New Jersey.
 Mr. D'Alesandro with Mr. Martin of Iowa.
 Mr. Rabaut with Mr. Canfield.

Mr. EBERHARTER and Mr. GATHINGS changed their votes from "yea" to nay." The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 181, nays 107, not voting 143, as follows:

[Roll No. 158]

YEAS—181

Abernethy	Carlson, Kans.	Drewry
Allen, La.	Celler	Eaton
Anderson, Calif.	Church	Eberhart
Anderson, N. Mex.	Clark	Elliott
Angell	Cochran	Fisher
Baldwin, Md.	Cole, N. Y.	Finnagan
Bates, Ky.	Colmer	Folger
Beall	Cooley	Forand
Bell	Cooper	Ford
Bloom	Courtney	Fulbright
Bonner	Cox	Gathings
Boykin	Cravens	Gavin
Brown, Ga.	Crosser	Gibson
Bryson	Curlley	Gilchrist
Bulwinkle	Davis	Gillette
Burch, Va.	Delaney	Gordon
Burdick	Dewey	Gore
Burgin	Dickstein	Gossett
Byrne	Dilweg	Graham
Camp	Dingell	Granger
Cannon, Mo.	Disney	Grant, Ala.
Capozzoli	Domeneaux	Gregory
	Doughton	Hale

Hancock	Maloney	Rogers, Mass.
Harless, Ariz.	Manasco	Rolph
Harris, Va.	Mansfield,	Rowan
Hinschaw	Mont.	Russell
Hobbs	Mansfield, Tex.	Sadowski
Hoch	May	Sasser
Hollfield	Michener	Sauthoff
Hull	Miller, Conn.	Schuetz
Jarman	Miller, Mo.	Sheppard
Johnson	Mills	Smith, Va.
Luther A.	Monkiewicz	Snyder
Johnson	Monroney	Spence
Lyndon B.	Morrison, N. C.	Stearns, N. H.
Johnson, Okla.	Mruk	Sullivan
Kearney	Murdoch	Talbot
Kefauver	Murphy	Tarver
Kelley	Murray, Tenn.	Thomas, Tex.
Kennedy	Myers	Thomason
King	Newsome	Tibbott
Kleberg	Norrell	Tolan
Klein	Norton	Troutman
Lanham	O'Brien, Mich.	Vinson, Ga.
Larcade	O'Brien, N. Y.	Vorvis, Ohio
Lea	O'Neal	Wadsworth
LeCompte	Outland	Walter
LeFevre	Patton	Ward
Lesinski	Peterson, Fla.	Weaver
Ludlow	Ploesser	Weiss
Lynch	Plumley	Welch
McCord	Poage	West
McCormack	Price	White
McGehee	Priest	Whitten
McGranery	Ramspeck	Whittington
McGregor	Rankin	Wickersham
McKenzie	Reece, Tenn.	Wolverton, N. J.
McMillan	Richards	Woodrum, Va.
McWilliams	Rivers	Wright
Magnuson	Robertson	Zimmerman
Mahon	Robinson, Utah	

NAYS—107

Allen, Ill.	Heldinger	Phillips
Andersen,	Herter	Pittenger
H. Carl	Hess	Poulson
Andersen,	Hill	Ramey
August H.	Hoeven	Reed, Ill.
Arnold	Hoffman	Reed, N. Y.
Auchincloss	Horan	Rees, Kans.
Baldwin, N. Y.	Jeffrey	Rizley
Barrett	Jenkins	Rockwell
Bennett, Mich.	Jenson	Rodgers, Pa.
Bennett, Mo.	Johnson	Rogers, Calif.
Bishop	Anton J.	Rohrbough
Bolton	Johnson,	Rowe
Brehm	Calvin D.	Schiffner
Buffett	Johnson, Ind.	Schwabe
Busbey	Johnson, Ward	Scott
Carson, Ohio	Jorkman	Scrivner
Carter	Judd	Simpson, Ill.
Case	Kean	Simpson, Pa.
Chapfield	Keefe	Smith, Ohio
Clevenger	Kinzer	Smith, Wis.
Coffee	Kirwan	Springer
Cole, Mo.	Knutson	Stefan
Cunningham	Kunkel	Stevenson
Curtis	LaFollette	Talle
Day	Landis	Taylor
Dondero	Lemke	Voorhis, Calif.
Dworzhak	Lewis, Ohio	Weichel, Ohio
Ellis	McCowan	Wheat
Elmer	McLean	Willey
Engel, Mich.	Maas	Wilson
Fellows	Mason	Winter
Gale	Marrow	Wolcott
Gearhart	Miller, Nebr.	Woodruff, Mich.
Griffiths	Mundt	
Gross	Murray, Wis.	
Gwynne	Norman	
Hall,	O'Hara	
Edwin Arthur O'Konski		

NOT VOTING—143

Andrews	Compton	Fuller
Arends	Costello	Fulmer
Barden	Crawford	Furlong
Barry	Cullen	Gallagher
Bates, Mass.	D'Alesandro	Gamble
Beckworth	Dawson	Gavagan
Bender	Dies	Gerlach
Blackney	Dirksen	Gifford
Bland	Ditter	Gillie
Boren	Douglas	Goodwin
Bradley, Mich.	Durham	Gorski
Bradley, Pa.	Ellison, Md.	Grant, Ind.
Brooks	Ellsworth	Green
Brown, Ohio	Elston, Ohio	Hagen
Buckley	Engle, Calif.	Hall
Burchill, N. Y.	Fay	Leonard W.
Butler	Feighan	Halleck
Canfield	Fenton	Hare
Cannon, Fla.	Fernandez	Harness, Ind.
Chapman	Fish	Harris, Ark.
Chenoweth	Fitzpatrick	Hart
Clason	Fogarty	Hartley

Hays	Martin, Mass.	Smith, Maine
Hébert	Merritt	Smith, W. Va.
Heffernan	Miller, Pa.	Somers, N. Y.
Hendricks	Morrison, La.	Sparkman
Holmes, Mass.	Mott	Stanley
Holmes, Wash.	O'Brien, Ill.	Starnes, Ala.
Hope	O'Connor	Steagall
Howell	O'Leary	Stewart
Izac	O'Toole	Stockman
Jackson	Pace	Sumner, Ill.
Jennings	Patman	Sumners, Tex.
Johnson,	Peterson, Ga.	Sundstrom
J. Leroy	Pfeiffer	Taber
Jones	Philbin	Thomas, N. J.
Kee	Powers	Towe
Keogh	Pracht	Treadway
Kerr	Rabaut	Vincent, Ky.
Kilburn	Randolph	Vursell
Kilday	Robison, Ky.	Wasieleski
Lambertson	Sabbath	Wene
Lane	Satterfield	Wheelchel, Ga.
Lewis, Colo.	Scanlon	Wigglesworth
Luce	Shafer	Winstead
McMurray	Sheridan	Wolfenden, Pa.
Madden	Short	Worley
Marcantonio	Sikes	
Martin, Iowa	Slaughter	

So the joint resolution was agreed to.
 The Clerk announced the following pairs:

General pairs:

Mr. Peterson of Georgia with Mr. Short.
 Mr. Winstead with Mr. Harness of Indiana.
 Mr. McMurray with Mr. Chenoweth.
 Mr. Hébert with Mr. Gillie.
 Mr. Sabbath with Mr. Halleck.
 Mr. Durham with Mr. Grant of Indiana.
 Mr. Bland with Mr. Jones.
 Mr. Scanlon with Mr. Shafer.
 Mr. Costello with Mr. Dirksen.
 Mr. Lewis of Colorado with Mr. Kilburn.
 Mr. Morrison of Louisiana with Mrs. Luce.
 Mr. Gavagan with Mr. Brown of Ohio.
 Mr. O'Brien of Illinois with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.
 Mr. Randolph with Mr. Ditter.
 Mr. Barry with Mr. Arends.
 Mr. Pace with Mr. Douglas.
 Mr. Starnes of Alabama with Mr. Compton.
 Mr. Gorski with Mr. Fish.
 Mr. Buckley with Mr. Goodwin.
 Mr. Steagall with Mr. Ellsworth.
 Mr. Hart with Mr. Hartley.
 Mr. Fay with Mr. Jennings.
 Mr. Satterfield with Mr. Powers.
 Mr. Burchill with Mr. Andrews.
 Mr. Hare with Mr. Crawford.
 Mr. Keogh with Mr. Howell.
 Mr. Cannon of Florida with Mr. Gallagher.
 Mr. Merritt with Mr. Elston of Ohio.
 Mr. Sikes with Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts.
 Mr. Fitzpatrick with Mr. Gamble.
 Mr. O'Leary with Mr. Fenton.
 Mr. Wheelchel of Georgia with Mrs. Smith of Maine.

Mr. Pfeiffer with Mr. Gifford.
 Mr. Kilday with Mr. Robison of Kentucky.
 Mr. Chapman with Miss Stanley.
 Mr. O'Toole with Mr. Wolfenden of Pennsylvania.
 Mr. Cullen with Mr. Taber.
 Mr. Philbin with Mr. Butler.
 Mr. Lane with Mr. Thomas of New Jersey.
 Mr. D'Alesandro with Mr. Martin of Iowa.
 Mr. Rabaut with Mr. Canfield.
 Mr. Heffernan with Mr. Blakely.
 Mr. Kerr with Mr. Clason.
 Mr. Worley with Mr. Lambertson.
 Mr. Jackson with Mr. Treadway.
 Mr. Somers of New York with Mr. Wigglesworth.

Mr. WHEAT changed his vote from "aye" to "no."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks I made today and include certain letters mentioned heretofore.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILL], after the legislative business and other special orders, may address the House for 15 minutes on Monday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWABE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Tuesday next at the conclusion of business and other special orders I be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday, November 5, during the debate on the appropriation for the Office of War Information, an article by William L. Shirer, appearing in the New York Herald Tribune under a recent date line, was read in support of an amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] to reduce the appropriation from \$5,000,000 to \$1,000,000.

The article which appears on page 9227 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, when read, failed to support the contention of those advocating a reduction in the appropriation. On the contrary, it paid a tribute to the high efficiency of the Office of War Information. Supplementing this testimony in behalf of O. W. I., I wish to read a subsequent article by the same writer appearing in the Washington Post of November 7, 1943.

Here is the article:

MOSCOW PACTS GIVE ALLIES AMMUNITION FOR A PROPAGANDA DRIVE

(By William L. Shirer)

The Moscow pacts announced last Monday at last have given Allied propagandists the ammunition for a great propaganda offensive. Their pledge of united action not only to win the war but to win the peace, their promise of liberation of the Axis-enslaved peoples and punishment of the Germans responsible for the Nazi massacres, their declarations regarding Italy and Austria and their agreement to form an international organization of all peace-loving states to maintain the peace is an answer to the prayers of most of the war-battered people on this earth.

Its propaganda effect on the peoples of the United Nations, of the occupied lands, and, not least of all, on the Germans themselves will be tremendous.

For the chief lesson we learned from the last war about propaganda was that it must

express a definite policy and that that policy must seem to the mass of the peoples practicable enough to be attainable. The Moscow pacts meet this test admirably.

SLOW TO REALIZE PROPAGANDA VALUE

Actually, in the propaganda field, the history of this war is remarkably similar to that of the last war. It was only in the fourth year of the first World War—in January 1918—that the Allies realized the value of a propaganda offensive.

And it was only then they realized that for their propaganda to be successful they must formulate definite policies which would have meaning and hold out hope for a war-torn world.

Until then their only policy had been to win the war, and they did not understand that astute propaganda could help them win it.

On January 5, 1918, Lloyd George made public for the first time a statement of British war aims. Three days later President Wilson uttered his famous "fourteen points." Wilson's address, made to a joint session of Congress, became the theme of Allied propaganda and contributed a great deal to the collapse of Austria and Germany.

But it was not until March 21, 1918, when the German offensive in France threatened to lose us the war, that the British Government finally agreed to join its allies in definitely promising freedom to the subject races of Austria-Hungary and to the Poles of Russia and Prussia.

The disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of its monarchy was very rapid thereafter.

We are at the January-June 1918 stage now in the propaganda field and perhaps even beyond that in the military.

CONGRESS USING LITTLE SENSE ON O. W. I.

Notwithstanding that, according to the late Generals Ludendorff and Hindenburg, one of the main reasons for the collapse of their armies in 1918 was the poisonous effect on their men's morale of Allied propaganda, and notwithstanding that our propaganda played an important part in the operations in Tunisia, Sicily, and Italy, it is also a fact—and a melancholy one—that the O. W. I. has been having hard sledding in Congress getting an additional \$5,000,000 to be used exclusively for propaganda work in coming American military operations.

Some of our elected Representatives in the House, it is reported, want to cut the figure to \$1,000,000. One was said to be in favor of cutting it out altogether.

This is a preposterous situation. It is exactly as preposterous as if a group of irate Congressmen were to deny the Army the funds necessary to enable General Clark to land at Salerno.

For psychological warfare has now become an integral part of our military operations. General Marshall says so. General Eisenhower says so. But some of our worthy Representatives speak as if they knew better.

I do not mean to suggest that the Congress should relax its constitutional control of the Nation's purse strings. In this war it has been very generous and farsighted in giving the Army what it asked for to fight and win the war. It has even been tolerant of the waste and the occasional graft. I do suggest that in the field of propaganda warfare it has been neither generous nor farsighted.

Though the O. W. I. is run on a shoestring compared to similar organizations in Germany, Russia, and Britain, the Congress has insisted on pinching its pennies and even making a political football of a state business which more and more has become integrated with actual military operations on fighting fronts.

And it might be noted in passing that most of the opposition to O. W. I.'s foreign propa-

ganda activities has come from the men who consistently opposed the various steps by which this country tried to prepare itself for war. Perhaps this is just a coincidence. Or—on second thought—is it? Being an apprentice in domestic politics because of a long foreign assignment, I wouldn't know. But many readers more fortunate, might.

This is written before O. W. I.'s request for an additional \$5,000,000 is debated on the floor of the House. Perhaps before this is printed, that body's decision will have been taken. But as our military operations widen in scope, more money will be requested for psychological warfare.

It will be chicken feed compared to the amounts spent on other branches of the military machine.

But it may be important to the average citizen to ponder whether this particular part of the fighting job should be made a political football or whether a Congressman is any more justified in denying it funds to operate at the front than he would be in, say, denying the Army funds to be used in equipping parachute units.

STRONG G. O. P. BACKING FOR REDUCTION

Right now the attitude of some in Congress seems to be that indicated by the following Washington dispatch which appeared in the press the other day:

"Washington, D. C.—Representative JOHN TABER (Republican) of New York, said the very most he would agree to give O. W. I. was \$1,000,000. Furthermore, TABER indicated that by the time the thing hits the House his offer will have dwindled to '000.' There was every indication that TABER's efforts to curtail the foreign propaganda of O. W. I. will have strong G. O. P. backing."

If Mr. TABER's views are correctly reported here, one might ask what particular military information he possesses that would lead him to grant one million, but not five millions, for a task connected exclusively with future offensive military operations.

One is tempted to ask, too, why the G. O. P. should make a party issue of a purely military matter.

Surely the Republicans, as well as everybody else in Congress, know that great military operations against the Germans are impending. They know that not Elmer Davis but General Marshall and his staff, who will be in charge of the campaign, will attack the Germans not only with bullets and bombs but with every known form of propaganda.

They know, too, that the Germans, after nearly 5 years of war and 1 solid year of defeats, will be as susceptible to our propaganda as they were in 1918 when Generals Ludendorff and Hindenburg said it broke the spirit of the German troops. They know that this propaganda warfare for this military campaign will cost a few extra dollars—not many but a few.

Finally, they know that is the only reason why the Overseas Branch of O. W. I. is asking for \$1,000,000 at this time.

And they have had an assurance that every penny of it is to be spent in conjunction with coming offensive military operations, and not for other activities of O. W. I. which admittedly are proper subjects for debate.

WHAT GENERAL MARSHALL THINKS OF PROPAGANDA

Lest the opinion get abroad that the part which our propagandists are playing on the fighting front is merely a reporter's hallucination, the views of our military men should be heard. On November 22, 1942, General Marshall wrote to Elmer Davis, O. W. I. director:

"The efficiency with which the personnel of O. W. I. cooperated with the War Department in connection with the operations in

north Africa contributed directly toward its success, and is greatly appreciated."

Last August 30, General Marshall again wrote to Mr. Davis: "I desire to express my appreciation to the members of your organization for their excellent work in the field of psychological warfare during the Sicilian campaign."

Only the other day, after the fall of Naples, General Eisenhower sent a cable to the combined Chiefs of Staff paying high tribute to the psychological warfare branch of his headquarters during the campaigns for the conquest of Tunisia, Pantelleria, and Sicily and the invasion of Italy. For security reasons, his cable cannot be quoted, but it may be said that he praised the propaganda warfare unit for making a "definite contribution" as an integral part of the armed forces in the actual fighting and that he said he counted on further valuable work by this branch in the battles to come.

Further testifying to the importance of propaganda in modern warfare and the remarkable results secured by the Office of War Information in the Italian campaign, I wish to read also a brief excerpt from an article entitled "How Revolution Will Come to Germany," appearing in this week's issue of the Saturday Evening Post. The article is written by William F. Zollmann, former member of the Reichstag, Secretary of the Interior under the German Republic, editor of the Rheinische Zeitung, from 1911 to 1933, who led the revolt that ended the Hohenzollern dynasty and the First World War and who was commissioned by Field Marshal von Hindenburg to organize the Workers and Soldiers Council following the emperor's abdication.

Here is Mr. Zollmann's carefully considered comment on the current European situation:

We are rapidly approaching another revolution in Germany, perhaps this winter, certainly not later than some day in 1944. How will it come to pass? Exactly as in 1918, there will not be a revolution until decisive military defeats have disintegrated the German Army and destroyed the authority of Hitler's police force inside Germany. This is primarily a problem of allied superiority in men and material on the battlefield, but not this alone. The disintegration can be accelerated by good allied propaganda, as it was successfully used against Mussolini, at least toward the end of his dictatorship.

This statement is notable from three points of view. In the first place, it is by a man who is more thoroughly cognizant with conditions calculated to end the war through the internal collapse of Germany than any other man in the world today.

Second, here is evidence of the importance of propaganda as a factor in bringing about the surrender of Germany in the First World War, and

Third, here is unimpeachable evidence of the efficient and effective use of propaganda by the Office of War Information in the Italian campaign.

Mr. Speaker, the appropriation of the full Budget estimate of \$5,000,000 for the Office of War Information will contribute more directly to the early and successful conclusion of the war than any similar amount provided for any phase of the war program.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include an editorial from the National Tribune.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COFFEE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the remarks I made today in the Committee of the Whole I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to include two newspaper articles, rather lengthy, from the Washington Post.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] be printed in the Appendix, together with a letter from a constituent.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under special order heretofore made, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. SCHIFFLER] for 15 minutes.

STATESMANSHIP NEEDED WITH POLITICS ABANDONED

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Mr. Speaker, we are receiving glorious news each day from the battle fronts. With accelerated efforts we are certain that victory is now ours. How long hence is problematical; most any day, or possibly several months before we shall conquer the Axis in Europe. In the Pacific area, while the major part of this struggle seems yet ahead, remembering that we are now fighting two major wars, with the European war disposed of, we can much more quickly defeat our foe in the Pacific, and it is reasonably safe to assume, excluding unforeseen complications, that within a year following our victory in Europe we shall also be blessed with an overwhelming victory in the Pacific area.

Labor, agriculture, and business, having full knowledge of the responsibility and problems before them and what was expected of them, have each performed with the usual American courage and capacity, and our production of all those things essential to the winning of this war has been an outstanding monument to the laborer, farmer, and businessman. It has again been exemplified that no matter how great the emergency, the American people, inspired by love for their Government, are always ready and willing to pay whatever may be the cost and to make whatever sacrifice may be necessary, to sustain and to preserve our

beloved Constitution and the economic system which has been responsible for our remarkable progress in a brief period of approximately 150 years.

Our boys and girls on the numerous fighting fronts, by their enthusiasm, courage, and sacrifice, have each certainly won the highest honors that any government can bestow upon its citizens. The hardships endured and the sacrifices made by each boy and girl in the fighting force entitles him and her to the Congressional Medal of Honor. Attu, Bataan, Corregidor, Salerno, Sicily, and the constant and successful battle by our aviators over Hitlerized Europe, each singularly manifest a determination, courage, and willingness of sacrifice unexcelled in any conflict in the history of the world, and to those heroes we owe a debt of gratitude that shall never be fully satisfied. Mere words cannot adequately describe, nor can we with justice eulogize, those brave men and women who so nobly contributed to our achievements. I would be remiss in duty if I were not to mention the valiant disciples of John Paul Jones and the men of our merchant marine whose services and sacrifices, beginning at Pearl Harbor, have also so largely contributed to our successes. Unhesitatingly, unflinchingly, and with unmatched courage, our beloved boys and girls have gone forth into this inferno—and for what? To sustain and to preserve, in this shrinking world, our beloved Republic, with its democratic processes and its fundamental guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

And while our farmers and laborers, business and industry have, with unmatched patriotism, each made unstinting contribution to the support of those fighting on the far-flung battle fronts, what has been the attitude of government? Has it been true to its trust? I am loathe to criticize and do not do so, except that I believe it highly important that we on the home front set the ship aright now in that the sacrifices of those on the battle front shall not be in vain. Our diplomatic successes abroad are worthy of commendation. They have secured military, economic, and political advantages. However, this job is not completed. Much yet remains to be done. This includes the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

Experimentation in government during this crucial period is inexcusable. The substitution of bureaucracy for democracy is unpardonable. Inefficiency, bungling, and waste are high crimes against the Constitution and against the sacred honor and sacrifices of our fighting forces. There are numerous problems that have not yet been solved upon our domestic front and which, if permitted to remain unsolved, will make our victory of doubtful value. The American people are courageous, patriotic, and of deep religious convictions. To see the law of God recklessly flaunted and the fundamental law of the land, and the processes provided by it, utterly disregarded, strikes at the very depth of every emotion possessed by God-fearing, liberty-loving, brave, and sacrificing people.

While more than 10,000,000 Americans, possessed of the noblest aspirations and the highest courage are absent, shall the fundamental processes of our government, by subtle means, be abrogated, and in their place a new order, highly foreign to American ideals substituted—an order in which the totalitarian processes of autocracy and of state socialism are to be promulgated and established? Emphatically, no. Every American worthy of the name must at this time, by unequivocal expression, direct the ship of state of our Nation be righted and our Government be administered according to our Constitution, and the laws be made pursuant to such Constitution. It is imperative that experimentations with processes of government and of economies entirely foreign to the American system be immediately dispensed with and those engaged in such experimentation be replaced in the high places of government by men and women of sound judgment, common sense, and practical experience.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I have been very much impressed by the gentleman's views, and it happens that the Kiwanis International, which is a great service organization, comprised of service clubs in Canada and the United States, has recently adopted as its slogan, and one of its major objectives for the current year, the phrase "Keep America America." I wonder if that does not pretty well summarize the gentleman's viewpoint, as he challenges the country to respond to its important responsibility?

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I think it does, and I thank the gentleman.

The bungling and inefficiency displayed in the handling of most of our major problems has resulted in a feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent and is universally manifested by the citizens of our great country. I need not point to evidences of this. I believe that all are sufficiently familiar with recent events to justify a belief in this statement. Waste, in time of crucial emergency, is not only inexcusable but unpardonable. I need not point out to you the innumerable instances of vast quantities of food-stuffs that have been permitted to decay while many of our citizens have been in dire need for such. The build-up of men and women upon the Federal pay rolls in this critical time is again a monumental disgrace and an affront to an already overburdened citizenry, who by stint and sacrifice, are ready to pay whatever price may be necessary to sustain, with rigid economy, the normal functions of government, but are utterly unable to continue to bear the imposition of this gigantic and unnecessary array of officeholders. I believe that one-third of the 3,000,000 persons now on the Federal civil pay rolls could be released for employment in the much needed agricultural and industrial sections of our country to assist in the production of food and of other essentials of war, and undoubtedly many thousands of them added to our armed forces.

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHIFFLER. Yes.

Mr. LANDIS. If we had had some of that help in the State of Maine and out in Idaho this year we probably would not have lost 30,000 carloads of potatoes.

Mr. SCHIFFLER. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

We are in serious danger of an immediate break-down of the hold-the-line directive. Time will not permit me to recite the contributing factors. Inflation seems imminent. This undoubtedly is being brought about by vacillation and bungling. There is a remedy yet available. The situation is by no means hopeless. The installation into places of authority of men and women with courage and capacity, selected without political consideration, but solely for ability to serve, and given authority without interference and unnecessary red tape, and these problems are yet capable of solution and we can thereby avoid highly disastrous inflation.

It is imperative that action be prompt and without regard for political expediency. We shall soon be confronted with the rewards of victory. What plans have been made to definitely assure all those returning from the conflict immediate employment and business opportunities?—None that I know of. What plans have been projected to care for those now engaged in war production who with a sudden impact will be thrown out of employment and remain so during that necessary period of reconversion?—None that I have knowledge of. It is high time that serious thought and action be given to these problems. Their neglect by the executive and legislative departments of government, will wreak its vengeance with astounding rapidity and telling effect. We have not been so remiss with regards to other parts of the world. Our hands have gone out to aid in the solution of all the major problems of the other nations of the world. We have had proposed a plan to stabilize the currencies of the world and which involve the use of a large quantity of our gold. Also, there has been proposed for the aid of other nations of the world an international bank in which we shall also, as a member, participate and subscribe another huge quantity of gold. Today at Atlantic City, the Claridge Hotel is completely filled with delegates from the 44 united and associated nations to complete plans for the carrying out of the agreement executed by our Government for rehabilitation and relief and which again will involve a substantial contribution from our assets. We have looked abroad projecting our aid and assistance in all directions, but we have again forgotten the problems that are important and vital to every citizen of our beloved country. I sincerely hope that the executive and legislative departments of our Government can, with equal fervor, immediately set to work to solve our problems and will continue with like diligence and enthusiasm until there has been assured to each of those on the battle fronts employment and business opportunities, and to each of those who will be affected at home, a like

chance to escape that serious impact which will undoubtedly immediately follow our victory.

To achieve these things it is essential that serious and constructive thought be given and immediate action be had. When our armed forces return we are going to meet a new type of citizen. These boys and girls have experienced much in this world. They are coming back educated, alert, well-informed, and they will have a definite knowledge of what they are entitled to have and expect to receive. We shall have to account to them. Our delay will be unpardonable. With all sincerity I urge that politics be abandoned for the duration, and that the executive and legislative departments of government set seriously to work to solve these problems which are of so paramount importance to the future welfare of our beloved country. Do not delay—act today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MURRAY] for 10 minutes.

HAY SUBSIDIES

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a letter from the C. C. C., together with a list of the carloads of hay subsidized by C. C. C. in Virginia and Maryland. Mr. Trapp informs me that Virginia and Maryland are the only States obtaining this hay subsidy. This seems unbelievable.

There are three questions that I think should be answered by the Banking and Currency Committee, or by any member of this committee that can and will do it. They are:

First. Where did the C. C. C. get the authority to become a drought relief agency?

Second. Why is one branch of the Agricultural Department out collecting the old drought-relief loans, while another branch of the same Agricultural Department is given blank checks to give feed away to people living in two States?

Third. Is there any member of the committee, or any Member of Congress that can justify this use of public funds in this manner? If so, please do.

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION,

Washington, D. C., November 9, 1943.

HON. REID F. MURRAY,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MURRAY: We informed you in a letter dated October 23, in reply to your letter of October 12, that we had requested Southern States Cooperative, Inc., Richmond, Va., which is handling the operational part of the emergency hay program in the East, to furnish us a list of the larger users of Government hay in the States of Maryland and Virginia.

We are enclosing the names and addresses of the larger users of hay in the States of Maryland and Virginia and the number of carloads ordered by each. The list includes only those purchasers who have placed orders for three carloads or more. A carload of hay averages about 15 tons.

The War Food Administration announced on April 14 that shippers of corn from the major corn area of the Corn Belt to Eastern

and Southeastern States would, because of the difference in the ceiling price in the Corn Belt and the ceiling price in the Eastern States, be eligible for a price adjustment to be paid by Commodity Credit Corporation in connection with all corn shipped from the Corn Belt to Eastern States. The ceiling difference is 5 cents per bushel; however, the adjustment is the difference between the market price of corn in the Corn Belt and the ceiling basis of \$1.02 per bushel at Chicago for Eastern States. We have made payments on about 18,000,000 bushels, mostly at the full 5 cents per bushel. Very little corn is moving east at present.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. TRIPP,
Associate Director, Grain Division.

There are 15 tons of hay to the car and the subsidy is about \$14 per ton, or about \$210 per car.

List of the names and addresses of persons who have placed the largest orders for hay pursuant to the Eastern States emergency hay program

	Number of cars of hay purchased
B. F. Johnston, Glyndon, Md.	5
Essex Farms, Lutherville, Md.	8
Beachmont Farms, Glen Arm, Md.	3
G. M. James, Herndon, Va.	7
Thorburn Bros., Chancellor, Va.	8
Sherwood Dickinson, Fredericksburg, Va.	7
Mrs. M. H. Dickinson, Post Oak, Va.	3
E. T. Hilldrup, Chancellor, Va.	4
R. O. Gordon, Spotsylvania, Va.	3
J. M. Stick estate, Fredericksburg, Va.	3
Spring Knoll Farm, Falmouth, Va.	3
V. B. Gate Sons, Rice, Va.	6
Walton Clark, Rice, Va.	3
Jenkins Bros., Green Bay, Va.	3
Dr. T. K. Terrell, Graves Mill Road, Lynchburg, Va.	6
Montview Farm, route 1 o. 2, Lynch- burg, Va.	3
Brookville F. F. A., Brookville High School, Lynchburg, Va.	7
Mrs. E. H. Brockenbrough, 3004 River- mont Ave., Lynchburg, Va.	4
W. H. Moore, Blackstone, Va.	4
L. W. Huff, Nokesville, Va.	3
Fred F. Tavenner, Sterling, Va.	3
C. T. Farr, Herndon, Va.	3
Tweedside Dairy, Blackstone, Va.	3
H. S. Ryder, Wellville, Va.	3
S. R. Williamson, Wellville, Va.	8
William Dalton, Wellville, Va.	3
Tucker's Dairy, McKenney, Va.	6
C. F. Clarke, Culpeper, Va.	4
Bernard Inskip, Rapidan, Va.	3
Mt. Vernon Stock Farm, Sperryville, Va.	5
J. E. Douglas, Culpeper, Va.	3
W. E. Hally, Keysville, Va.	3
G. O. Pittus, Keysville, Va.	5
Col. H. A. Newcomb, Greenwood, Va.	3
Mrs. M. H. Dickinson, McHenry, Va.	6-3
Tom J. Ogburn, Lawrenceville, Va.	4
R. H. Todd, Darlington, Md.	3
S. L. Remsberg, Knoxville, Md.	3

	Number of cars of hay purchased
Hoffman Bros., Woodsboro, Md.	3
Horace Moffett, Marshall, Va.	4
John H. Lamb, route 2, Charlottesville, Va.	6
John R. Morris, Charlottesville, Va.	8
G. H. Vandevender, Charlottesville, Va.	3
Dr. J. L. Manahan, Scottsville, Va.	3
W. A. Houck, Ashland, Va.	3
W. J. Foster, Chester, Va.	4
C. C. Satterfield, Irwin, Va.	3
W. N. Stoneman, route 5, Richmond, Va.	3
R. S. Graves Bros., Syria, Va.	5
Z. R. Lewis, Rock Hill Farm, Shelby, Va.	4
E. E. Aylor, Criglersville, Va.	3
M. B. Heizer, Rawlings, Va.	3
Shirley Furton, Purcellville, Va.	6
Talbot Farm, Waterford, Va.	4
H. H. Kelley, Bluemont, Va.	4
Charles M. James, Purcellville, Va.	2
W. W. Susley, Purcellville, Va.	6
V. C. Wilson, Purcellville, Va.	3
Hugh N. Rahes, Leesburg, Va.	20
Clay Plummer, Gaithersburg, Md.	3
Roland MacKenzie, Rockville, Md.	3
P. L. Snyder, Gaithersburg, Md.	4
A. W. Ratliff, Gaithersburg, Md.	6
J. M. Redpath, Rockville, Md.	4
Thomas M. Garrett, Rockville, Md.	6
P. R. Marsh, Catlett, Va.	5
D. M. Gray, Catlett, Va.	3
E. J. Wilson, Catlett, Va.	5
W. H. Thomas, Remington, Va.	7
Mrs. J. W. McConchie, Remington, Va.	7
O. A. Groves, Bealeton, Va.	2
G. A. Walker, Clayville, Va.	3
Mrs. Eva Pemberton, Doswell, Va.	6
R. M. Toney, in care of State Cleaning Co., Richmond, Va.	3

Supplemental list of the names and addresses of persons who have placed the largest orders for hay pursuant to the Eastern States emergency hay program

	Number of cars of hay purchased
Eugene Doody, route 1, Frederick, Md.	14
Ray H. Smith, route 1, Frederick Md.	6
Walter Hahn, route 1, Frederick, Md.	5
R. R. Lewis, Jr., Frederick, Md.	5
Gladhill Brothers, Damascus, Md.	5
Andrew Cornelius, Arcola, Va.	6
W. W. Mays, Silver Spring, Md., No. 2.	14
John Lee, Greensboro, Md.	3
John M. Hart, Haymarket, Va.	4
E. H. Marsteller, Manassas, Va.	4
C. C. Lynn, Manassas, Va.	4
W. L. Coverstone, Manassas, Va.	3
Ben Lomand Farm, Manassas, Va.	3
G. C. Russell, Woodbridge, Va.	4
Fairhaven, Sykesville, Md.	6
W. T. Green, Midland, Va.	5
Mrs. A. M. Shumate, Bealeton, Va.	6
W. R. Burton, Calverton, Va.	3
W. W. Sanford, Orange, Va.	4
W. A. Williams, Orange, Va.	4
F. S. Walker, Orange, Va.	4
E. H. Conway, Orange, Va., No. 3.	3

Production: Dried skim milk (for human consumption)

Year	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Total
	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds	1,000 pounds
1935	11,854	11,795	15,232	17,272	22,723	24,100	17,570	16,899	15,364	13,015	9,902	11,805	187,531
1936	13,319	13,410	16,601	19,542	25,165	27,296	19,124	17,019	18,448	19,822	16,129	17,982	233,827
1937	18,485	15,790	19,671	22,211	28,848	29,611	24,442	19,635	17,646	16,049	13,731	18,382	244,511
1938	20,327	18,724	23,455	27,580	34,555	32,482	27,621	23,212	22,762	22,548	17,154	18,701	289,121
1939	20,108	18,401	22,502	24,048	30,666	31,489	24,360	20,260	18,848	18,013	18,041	21,124	267,860
1940	24,495	23,370	27,442	29,036	35,358	38,578	31,094	26,631	22,157	22,564	19,030	22,088	321,843
1941	25,714	25,715	31,142	34,449	43,781	41,780	31,953	29,293	27,016	25,253	22,816	27,543	366,455
1942	33,826	36,114	47,514	54,699	71,427	68,673	58,554	52,896	43,957	36,853	28,809	32,134	565,256
1943	29,000	29,200	40,150	45,850	50,950	59,925	53,650	42,350	33,250				

WHY NOT MAKE FULL USE OF DESIRABLE FOOD?

Mr. Speaker, every day I wonder how much longer the O. P. A. and its sister agencies are going to carry on the dairy program that is now in operation.

It is startling to realize that we had one-half million more cows the first of this year than the year previous, but that we are producing apparently a billion pounds less milk.

First allow me to present the following food facts, that are found in the U. S. D. A. Circular No. 549, page 547:

	Water, per- cent	Protein, per- cent	Fat, per- cent	Ash, per- cent	Fuel value, per pound
Dried whole milk	3.5	25.8	26.7	6.0	2,250
Dried skim milk	3.5	35.6	1.0	7.9	1,630

In U. S. D. A. Miscellaneous Publication No. 505 I find:

Vitamins per pound

	Vitamin A, I. U.	Vitamin B, Meg.	Vitamin C, Mg.	Vitamin D, I. U.	Riboflavin Meg.
Dried whole milk	7,300	1,400	40	-----	11,600
Dried skim milk	640	1,700	30	-----	9,000

The O. P. A. ceiling on dried skim milk by the spray process is 14.5 cents per pound and by the roller process is only 12.5 cents per pound. Can a 12.5 cents per pound ceiling on a food product that has 35 percent protein content be justified?

I do not feel it necessary to compare dried skim milk with other food products, but I wish to point out that dried skim milk, with its 35-percent protein, has a 12.5 to 14.5 cents per pound ceiling price which is ridiculous when compared with other foods having only a 15- to 20-percent protein content yet still having 40 to 50 cents per pound ceiling prices. Still other food products with comparatively high ceiling prices show only a fraction of the food value of dried skim milk.

Of the 522 allocable supplies for 1943-44 about 12 percent was and is being consumed by the armed forces, about 53 percent goes to lease-lend, and about one-third is used by United States civilians.

The production by month is as follows:

You will note that our September production in 1943 is practically 25 percent less than in 1942.

Is there any reason for the difference in price of the roller and the spray powdered skim milk? Is there a justifiable reason for placing a 12.5- to 14.5-cent-per-pound ceiling on a food product most sorely needed as a war food?

As long as the man with the price can buy all the milk and cream he desires from which, without using ration points, he can make his own butter, as long as the average housewife has to pay 16 points for butter produced from the identical milk and cream, and as long as the housewife has to pay 5 points to obtain even a pound of cottage cheese made from skim milk, I am sure we do not have a very well planned dairy food program. As long as the man with the price can buy cream of 15- to 20-percent butterfat content without using ration points, but still the housewife has to pay points to get a can of 7.2 butterfat evaporated milk, I question whether we have a worth-while dairy program.

While the governmental agencies allocate 3,600 to 4,000 tons of tinplate for the filled milk production and yet make it most difficult to get tin for a cheese vat for the corner cheese factory, for a can washer, or for a pasteurizer for any cheese factory, there is not much evidence that the present governmental agencies are equal to their responsibilities.

I have repeatedly pointed out that statistically we can still meet the dairy problem, but I fail to see any constructive effort being made to accomplish it.

The ideal weather in the dairy sections the past two seasons may have misled some to think they planned it that way; but the fact remains that while milk production should be increasing, actually it is on the downgrade.

The two most important consumer groups are the armed forces and the babies. The armed forces make use of evaporated milk, dried whole and dried skim milk, as well as butter and cheese. It is hoped they will be amply supplied. Millions of babies are raised on evaporated milk and these should be guaranteed adequate milk for their needs.

For the purpose of a more efficient dairy production program, and for a more effective use of potential supplies, I trust O. P. A. and its allied agencies will soon correct the existing situation. Dried skim milk, an important and necessary food, is not making the contribution it should to the dairy food program. The low-income groups are being denied one of our greatest of foods. Immediate steps should be taken to correct this situation.

In view of the foregoing facts, how can one become too enthused by the roll-back program that cuts back by 10 percent the price of a product with a 15- to 20-percent protein which has a 30-, 40-, 50-cent-per-pound ceiling price while at the same time a product with 35-percent protein has a 12.5-cent-per-pound ceiling price?

We should be rolling up the production of this great food, dried skim milk, before we spend too much time, effort, and expense on rolling back the price of any food products.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 20 minutes.

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM OF FEDERAL REAL ESTATE OPERATIONS

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Government of the United States is the biggest real estate owner in the country. But the Government cannot tell you how much it currently owns. It just does not know. Nobody knows.

In these days of ever-increasing taxes it behooves the Congress to cast about for ways to save the people money. It does no good, for instance, to criticize Uncle Sam for going on a land-buying spree and paying \$2,610,000 for 3.08 acres of land, most of it at the bottom of the Hudson River. It is not the first time Uncle Sam has been sold things costly as the Brooklyn Bridge. It may be a mistake for him to spend his money this way, but there is a reason for it which must be corrected.

It is an astounding fact, but none the less true, that at the present time there is no satisfactory uniform control, administrative or otherwise, over performance of the operational steps in acquisition and disposition of real property for the uses and purposes of the United States and its various agencies, nor has any satisfactory procedure been established for the compilation of records whereby adequate administrative control could be effected.

The importance of this fact can be found in the confusion which exists between the scores of Government agencies buying land and in the purchases which have been made.

OVERLAPPING BUREAUCRACY

At present there are over 60 departments, agencies, and independent establishments from which the Congress and the Chief Executive must obtain information upon which to base decisions and execute plans and policies regarding the real property requirements of the Government. Of the more than 60 departments and agencies, all are on a parity as to administrative control and responsibility, and while each functions in its own separate sphere, none is equipped to assemble and correlate the vast information required by the Congress and the President for policy and administrative purposes. This is especially true with respect to new requirements, surplus property disposition, future utilization, and the custody of the greatly expanded Federal holdings. Millions of dollars could be saved if this responsibility was coordinated in one agency. The Comptroller General has recommended that it be centered in the General Land Office.

Article 4, section 3, clause 2 of the Constitution of the United States provides:

"The Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting property belonging to the United States." I have therefore introduced a bill, H. R. 3632, to amend the act of July 4, 1836 (5 Stat. 107) entitled "An act to Reorganize the General Land Office," and hope that the Congress will approve this measure to vest in the Commissioner of the General Land Office the responsibility to maintain centralized title records of all Government land, the power of acquiring it, and such other provisions as contained in the bill. A similar bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator HATCH, of New Mexico, on October 5, 1943.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. O'HARA. I want to compliment the gentleman for his industry and his intelligence on this very important subject. I wonder if the gentleman could tell us how many million acres of land the Government has condemned or bought, say for the Army and Navy alone, in this war effort.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I think I can answer the gentleman's question. I have before me some information on that point.

BILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND MILLIONS OF ACRES

Without including land purchases of the Defense Plant Corporation for some 1,500 war plants and acquisitions by other agencies not referred to the Department of Justice for title opinions, the total acquired and pending acquisitions for defense and war purposes from July 1, 1938, to March 31, 1943, has been estimated at more than 20,000,000 acres and 20,000 parcels not computed on an acreage basis. The helter-skelter methods by which this land has been acquired have given rise to scandal and extravagant waste of public funds. The purchase of that much land is big business. Since July 1, 1940, there has been made available to the War Department alone over \$400,000,000 for acquisition of lands and improvements. A list of Navy acquisitions in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 23, 1943, page 1221, shows that one department has already spent over \$86,500,000 for such purposes. The fair market value of Federal lands and improvements has been estimated to be \$4,696,061,638.

No one knows how much land Uncle Sam now owns but as of June 30, 1937, the Federal Government held title to approximately 394,658,000 acres of land, according to information in the hearings on the Military Establishment appropriation bill for 1942. That land is all in the United States. It constitutes more than 20 percent of all land in the United States.

Mr. O'HARA. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. O'HARA. In addition to that land, which has been condemned or bought by the Government there are a great many thousand and million acres of land that have been leased, in which

the fee title still remains in the owners of the land, and the Government simply leases it. Does the gentleman know how many acres are involved in that?

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I thank the gentleman for asking that question. It illustrates the importance of the passage of such a bill as I have introduced, because that question arose in my own mind and I tried to find out. There was no agency of the Government which could give me the answer to that question. It is necessary for anyone making an investigation of this proposition to contact every agency of the Government, and that is almost a superhuman task at the present time.

Total acreage of the continental United States is 1,903,221,280 acres. This means that our Federal Government owns an area equal to all the lands east of the Mississippi River except Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. These Government lands are located in 2,628 counties, of a total of 3,071 counties, and in 2,965 cities. Fifty percent of the land area of the 11 Western States is federally owned. Federal acquisition, exclusive of military needs, is building up at the rate of approximately 1,000,000 acres per year. The size of these holdings constitute tremendous opportunity for good or evil. If properly utilized they will be of great value to war veterans and in other Government programs. If left in the present mess, scandals will continue to occur and the poor taxpayer be fleeced.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Is there anything in the gentleman's bill that limits further dealing in land on the part of the Federal Government? Has the gentleman gone into that at all?

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. My measure does not attempt to limit the acquisition of land by the Federal Government, although I certainly think that is a matter that the Congress might well consider in another measure. I think that acquisition of all the land in the country is the first step in any plan toward socialism, and at the rate we are going it will not be long before the Government owns it all.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. I think the gentleman should be complimented for opening up this subject. It is something that the Congress should probe and probe thoroughly before many more months.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I thank the gentleman from New York.

LAND SWINDLES

The Comptroller General has suspended settlements on many land purchases of the Government. This has been done for a variety of reasons. An example may suffice to show the need for corrective legislation. There is no authority in law, in fact there is express prohibition against hiring by the Government of real-estate brokers to buy land for it. Yet, this is what has happened. Certain Government officials who should have done this work themselves hired scores of real-estate men

and paid them commissions of thousands of dollars to buy land for the Government. These real-estate men bought land for more than it was worth, so they could make bigger commissions. In fact, in some recorded cases they threw in allowances for dog licenses, preachers' salaries, and charged commissions on their own commissions. They got away with the money, the Comptroller General suspended the settlements, and this means that the responsible Government officers must justify what they did. I know of no prosecutions for these flagrant violations of law. In fact, as is so often true in the War Department, some of the guilty parties were promoted to other jobs. I am going into that question and will have more to say on it later.

CONGRESS IN THE DARK

Congress, in my humble opinion, has been negligent in face of this situation. Congress required—volume fifty-four Statutes at Large, page 968—that the Secretary of War should make monthly reports to the Military and Appropriations Committees of all land purchases—the area, intended use, purchase price, amount appropriated therefor, and assessed value. Shortly thereafter it amended this law—Fifty-sixth Statutes, page 244—to provide that this information only had to be submitted once per year and on contracts in excess of \$150,000. It is obvious that in purchasing a large tract of land for a cantonment, for instance, scores of small individual purchases would be made for less than \$150,000. That is what has happened and no reports have been submitted to Congress on the subject, even though these tracts in the aggregate run into millions of dollars and the individual transactions have been clothed in great abuse.

The General Land Office is well equipped by experience, equipment, and personnel to handle the responsibility I would give it, and which is now shared by numerous overlapping agencies. The General Land Office, for 130 years, has had experience in handling of public lands, and it is only common sense that a responsibility it has handled with such distinction should be vested in it alone.

This is one constructive step which can be taken to save the people money, eliminate wartime boondoggling, and enable Congress to act with greater intelligence in its official responsibility to the citizens of this Nation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GAVIN] is recognized for 20 minutes.

PETROLEUM PRODUCTION

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the Director of Economic Stabilization released a decision on the subject of crude-oil prices which must go into the records as one of the most amazing documents yet from the dozens of emergency, special, and extraordinary agencies which keep the American public be-

fuddled with their contradictory statements.

I do not propose to review at length the 19 pages of single-spaced discussion signed by the Director of Economic Stabilization. He started out by saying that the increase of 35 cents a barrel in crude oil which the Petroleum Administrator repeatedly recommended was a question "within the purview of this office." Then he wound up this long and wearisome treatise by saying, in effect, that under his mandate from the President he was confined to the single duty of saying no to anything that comes his way concerning price.

Then, to make it all the more confusing—to reduce the whole labored essay on petroleum to an absurdity apparent at once to laymen as well as to lawyers, he concluded by saying that if the Petroleum Administrator would devise one of those stealthy approaches to the question of getting some oil for the people—an incentive plan of some kind—he, this powerless Director of Economic Stabilization would find that he had authority to put such plan into operation.

I deny that he has any such authority. There is no plan and there is no money set aside by the Congress for any such purpose. The offer to put such a plan into effect is merely another in the long series of buck-passing antics on this vital question of oil. To make the matter more absurd, the Director of Economic Stabilization has called upon the Petroleum Administrator to get up a plan of incentives to promote exploration and to do something for the stripper wells. The Petroleum Administrator passed judgment on such a scheme last June. He then said that no method could be devised which would meet the situation and do the job in the way that a direct price increase would do it.

It has been characteristic of all the decisions made on this price question that the real issue was ignored. That real issue was that we were running out of the daily producible supply of oil needed to supply the military program and the essential civilian uses. The O. P. A. dragged the question around from the middle of 1941, delaying and stalling. The oil producers were eager to get into action. They knew what happens to the supply when you stop drilling and stop the repair and maintenance work on wells and they knew that this war was going to take all the oil that could be brought to the surface.

The only recipe the O. P. A. could offer for the emergency was rationing. Lately, they have been holding out the glittering promise of imports. Prentiss Brown early in August turned to this as another Heaven-sent excuse for more delay on the price question. He made it sound as though imported oil would soon be available on every street corner. Three months have passed and the only change has been for the worse. Gasoline rations have been cut and it is hinted that they will be cut again.

The Director of Economic Stabilization picked up this thought and went to town on it. He had to juggle the facts around a bit and misquote the au-

thorities, but he arrived at a position of security before he finished his labored reasoning for maintaining the traditional negative position on price. For instance, he quoted the Director of Production's testimony before the House Naval Affairs Subcommittee to the effect that the deficiency in domestic production in the last quarter of 1944 would be 337,000 barrels daily and then made it sound as though this same individual had also said that the deficiency would be made up, to the exact barrel, by imports. He did say, "if shipping facilities are provided," but that was obscured by the tone of confidence used earlier.

Just to keep everything straight, I will quote what this Director of Production really said:

It is estimated that by the final quarter of 1944 the deficiency between domestic production of crude oil and crude-oil requirements will total 337,000 barrels daily. Present programs call for this crude-oil deficiency to be supplied from foreign sources, but, with the unpredictable hazards of submarine warfare and with no assurance that the necessary tankers will be available on a continuing basis, this is not a positive solution to the problem.

Earlier, however, before he got his imports program going, the Director of Economic Stabilization had said that—

There is no reasonable prospect, whether the price of crude oil is advanced or not, that there will be any Nation-wide increase in gasoline for nonessential driving.

"Nonessential" is a vague term; it means anything the bureaucrats want it to mean. It is nonessential to drive to the bedside of a dying father or mother, or to go more than an arbitrarily prescribed number of miles in a month, regardless of usefulness of the travel or the urgency of it. Anyway, in one and the same statement the Director of Economic Stabilization has told us to abandon all hope, and then has repaired the deficiency in supply.

We must now recognize the fact that from the very beginning the bureaucrats had no intention of doing anything to maintain our oil supply. Their philosophy is now coming into the open. It has been from the beginning of this war to the present a consistent program of building up foreign oil development and reducing our own productive capacity to make room for foreign oil here at home. All we need do is to look at what has happened. We have consistently taken oil out of storage here to meet the demand while new development has been discouraged and prevented. At the same time these promoters of the world economy have been running to foreign countries with encouragement and assistance, all the way from the ill-starred Canol pipe-line project, into which has been dumped an amount said by a Canadian writer to total \$138,000,000, to schemes for financial assistance in Mexico, Bolivia, Argentina, and many other places.

But nothing must be done that would enable the American consumer to get a little more gasoline and a little more heating oil. Nothing must be done that would let the American oil producer live.

It goes beyond any "hold the line" order. They began to hold the line on oil long before any line was established. The intent of Congress was expressed in the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, which declared that it was a purpose of the act "to assist in securing adequate production of commodities and facilities."

Is there any contention by anyone that oil production is adequate? Is there any contention that anything has been done to make it adequate? It was so claimed for a while by Leon Henderson, but the O. P. A. months ago got off that theory and began hoping that some foreign country would come to our rescue. The remedy was in sight all the time, and it has been pointed out by numerous committees of this Congress. Oil producers simply could not drill and they could not maintain their properties in efficient shape with the income they were getting. They cannot now, on a 1941 price, meet the 1943 costs.

I read a story the other day about a tough sergeant who came upon a shivering soldier on the drill field. His teeth were chattering and his hands were blue. He was out about 10 miles from camp. The sergeant was accustomed to giving orders. He looked at the man and shouted, "Are you cold?" The soldier nodded. "Well," barked the sergeant, "get warm."

I thought of this when I read the pontifical pronouncement of the Director of Economic Stabilization that one of the cures for our oil deficiency was "increased drilling of developmental wells."

What wisdom! What astuteness! This is the brand of reasoning that has been used throughout to run down our petroleum reserves, above and below ground; it has been used to delay and stall and "pass the buck." Any person in the country knows that answer and every Member of this Congress knows by now that more wells would have been drilled if the means had been provided with which to pay for them.

A short time ago there was a press release from the O. W. I. which worried about the \$51,000,000,000 gap between income and consumer goods and services available. That is \$51,000,000,000 more than can be spent. This is the so-called inflationary gap. This is the dangerous money they speak of. Think of that amount for a minute. The very most that the recommended increase of 35 cents a barrel would cost the public and the Government would be a half billion dollars, this an estimate of Stabilizer Vinson, and to the average consumer it would mean, at most, a cent on gasoline or 2 or 3 cents a week—less than \$2 a year. There are willing customers with money in hand to buy essential products. The bill would be paid by the consumers only and nothing would be added to the national debt for nonconsumers to pay, as would be done under the Economic Stabilization Director's incentive proposal.

The people have a remedy. The Congress has the responsibility of applying it. We have wasted too much time already waiting for a bunch of world-wide planners to give a little practical

attention to affairs here at home. Their only cure for the oil shortage is to do without until we can get something from Fort Norman or Afghanistan. Congress through committees of both Houses has taken all the evidence it needs and every verdict has been for a raise in price.

The people of all the congressional districts have been asking why nothing is done.

The SPEAKER. Under the previous order of the House the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. O'HARA] is recognized for 30 minutes.

BUREAU ORDERS AND DIRECTIVES

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I have taken this time today to discuss rather generally some of the things I think are of importance to our people and to the Congress.

In the criticisms of Washington I note little distinction between that which Congress does or does not do and that which is done or not done by the various bureaus here in Washington. I feel there has been considerable reaction to the lethargy of Congress since the summer recess. The people of this country look to Congress for action. The constant flow of bureau orders and directives, "bureaucratic legislation," seriously affecting the rights and liberties of the citizens of this country has been in part, at least, a constant source of irritation. In making that statement I do not want to take the position that many of the directives and orders are not reasonable or are not necessary; quite the contrary, I think many of them are reasonable, and many of them are necessary; but here and there is an order which seriously affects the very substantial rights of our citizens—action by some bureau by directive, by order, which very seriously affects the rights of our people and from which that citizen has no right of appeal through judicial channels.

I invite the attention of the Members of the House to H. R. 2705 introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLCOTT] and also to the fact that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] has filed petition No. 13 to provide that we may legislate upon this all-important question. This bill, by the way, affects only orders and regulations by O. P. A. While it is of particular importance I call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that many other bureaus promulgate regulations which seriously affect the people of our country, yet from which there is no judicial process of appeal. Recently my attention was called by a newspaper article to the fact that the people back home do not make any distinction between legislation by the Congress and regulations issued by the bureaus. The fact is when the folks back home think of government, when they think of Congress, they often think of departments and agencies such as the U. S. D. A., the W. P. A., the A. A. A., the C. C. C., the F. D. A., the O. D. T., and the O. P. A. as a part of the Congress. Recently one of the newspapers in my district published a strong column upon the action of the War Manpower Commissioner providing Federal regulations

that all hiring and solicitation of workers in or for work in that vicinity should be conducted within the purview of the employment stabilization program. This is one of the War Manpower directives which provides, among other things, in event of violation, for a fine of not to exceed \$1,000, or a year in jail, or both. In commenting upon this and in setting out rather specifically the directives which were provided the columnist who wrote this particular column asked:

Is the above plan in the Constitution? Is it a law passed by Congress? Did the people have anything to say about whether such a control should be fastened upon them? Have the people, in effect, a chance to vote on whether they wish to submit to or be governed by this rule?

And they then asked a very significant question, thinking in terms of the folks back home:

Have our Representatives in the United States Senate and in Congress the intelligence and guts to abolish the dictatorial serf-making directive before starry-eyed professors start regulating our sleeping habits?

Let me point out to the membership, Mr. Speaker, that these directives do have a very serious effect upon all of our people, no matter what type of district we may represent. The regulations of O. P. A. not only regulate the merchant who is operating a business but also regulate even the shoes that the baby in the home wears.

When you take the question of the hiring of help, the labor question, they are affected by directives of the Selective Service, by the War Manpower Commission, by the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the interpretations of these several bureaus. Those are merely a few of the departmental agencies which are in effect passing legislation each day.

Mr. RIZLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. RIZLEY. I think the gentleman is making a very significant statement, I congratulate him for calling this important matter to the attention of Congress. Some action should be taken whereby some appeal may be had from the rules, regulations, and directives that are being promulgated from time to time by the various bureaus that have been set up to administer the acts that we have passed. That becomes more significant each day. For instance, today before the Committee on Agriculture of which I am a member, we find that recently the War Food Administration in cooperation with the citrus fruit industry had worked out a full, complete, and accurate new program for the citrus industry. Now we find the O. P. A., notwithstanding the program had the approval of the War Food Administration and the industry, refused to respect or adopt that plan and are getting ready probably by tomorrow or next day to put their own plan in effect which the industry says is not workable and which does not have the approval of the War Food Administration. The matter has been submitted to Mr. Vinson.

As the gentleman knows, he acts in the position of arbitrator where the War

Food Administrator and the O. P. A. cannot agree. I understand in this instance the Food Administrator took it up with the industry, they worked out a plan and urged the O. P. A. to put it into effect, but it was rejected. It seems to me when the O. P. A. has taken over the authority of the War Food Administrator and issuing orders and directives, completely ignoring the War Food Administrator, certainly the processor, members of the industry, and those affected ought to have some place to which they could appeal in order to get some modification of those orders.

Mr. O'HARA. I thank the gentleman for his observation. The War Food Administration is another very important bureau. The food problem has been a most serious problem and while the gentleman speaks of the citrus industry let me say that I was speaking to one of my colleagues from Texas last winter who spoke of the fact that because of the hiatus, the confusion and the chaos then existing, a great many of the citrus canneries in his district that would ordinarily be preparing and canning citrus foods, had simply refused to open the door of their factories because of the confusion which was existing. Congress has had a very serious problem in passing such acts as the Price Control Act in that Congress has delegated tremendous authority in a very vague and in a very general way.

I am sure that the membership of the House who are lawyers have seriously questioned some of these general acts and whether or not such acts were constitutional. There have been decisions to the effect that where there is a delegation of legislative authority by a legislative body it is necessary that that legislative body rather specifically set out and lay out the manner in which that delegation of authority is to be exercised. I think most of my colleagues will agree that in many cases at least of the Price Control Act that was not done.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman is a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. O'HARA. Now a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. I was formerly a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman was a member of the House Judiciary Committee. I wonder whether in his opinion things would have been improved if the Walter-Logan bill which passed the Congress had not been vetoed by the President and if the Congress had been successful in its attempt to override the Presidential veto of the Walter-Logan bill? It seems to me that that would have given the private citizen at least one source to go to for a correction of some of the maladministration of various bureaus that exist at this time.

Mr. O'HARA. Let me say to the gentleman that unquestionably the passage of the Walter-Logan bill would have provided some relief. In most instances the right of redress of the average citizen who

is affected by these orders and regulations is practically nil.

Mr. MUNDT. The Walter-Logan bill would have tended to help keep the Government in the hands of the people which, after all, is the American way.

Mr. O'HARA. I agree wholeheartedly with the statement of the gentleman. Let me say along that line that we have the following situation: Let us take one of the bureaus that makes an order. They prosecute it, then they become the judge and jury and high executioner of it. They are responsible to no one from an elective standpoint. Often in the administration of the act they are fair, at least some of them are very fair, but, on the other hand some of them are overzealous, overreaching and unfair in the enforcement of the penalty provisions of many of these directives. I happen to know that our colleague, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] is chairman of a committee investigating and making a study of the effect of the penalty provisions which have been put out by these various bureaus or many of them. I am hopeful that we will have from him soon a report upon that subject.

Mr. ROWE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. ROWE. I want to say that some of the directives that have been issued do affect the people I represent in this body. There has been a method of appeal. That appeal is back to the authority from which the directive usually emanates. It is much like the man and wife who agreed that each should have their way 50 percent of the time and the husband allowed the wife to have her way as long as they agreed. It is like that down here with some of these bureaus. As long as you agree with them, all right. But if you happen to be in contravention with their conclusions you are out of luck. Just to illustrate the point, the district I represent is now a No. 1 critical area in which 8,400 new homes have been built since 1941. They are dependent upon coal. We have a critical coal situation. By appealing to Mr. Fortas we got some coal there directly from the Army.

After getting the coal into the district we learned from an investigation that the delivery unit had shrunk some 35 percent by reason of these directives affecting the business. They then issued what is known as order No. 7. Order No. 7 would not permit the retail dealers to deliver coal in amounts larger than 1-ton lots. The contravening effect of that was that they increased the consumption of gasoline, and they further consumed the tires. About 85 percent of the coal haulers in the district were working on a contract basis and the contracts were based on 2-ton delivery lots, so 85 percent of the people who were delivering coal just quit delivering as a result of this order that was issued by one of the bureaus. I called that bureau and told them what the condition was they had created, and arbitrarily in the instance of Akron as distinct from the rest of the country, they rescinded the order for that area.

Mr. O'HARA. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, recently there was called to my attention from my own district this sort of a situation. There was a dispute between one of the farm cooperatives of my district and the Wages and Hours Division as to whether this cooperative came within the purview of the Wages and Hours Act. The question was serious because the cooperative was in this situation. They were liable to be prosecuted criminally. They were in a position where an injunctive action could be taken against them or where they would be subject to the penalty provision of an employees' suit. So they brought an action under the so-called Federal Declaratory Judgment Act against the regional director of that region. Unfortunately, there were several decisions which held that action could not be commenced against a regional director. The decisions are, in effect, that in that sort of a situation it is necessary for them to sue the Administrator here in the District of Columbia. His office has been moved to New York. Frankly, I do not know where he would have to be sued, whether in the District of Columbia or in the State of New York. But you can imagine the condition in which these people are placed who are seriously affected by these regulations or their administration, where they want to check on whether the views of the Administrator of that particular law are correct. You can imagine how difficult it is throughout the country for the hundreds of small firms or individuals who employ help, to test serious questions of law or fact, taking, for example, questions arising under the Wages and Hours Act.

Therefore, I have introduced a bill which is in effect an amendment to the Declaratory Judgment Act and which will permit anyone affected to bring suit against the Administrator by serving through the mail upon the Administrator here in Washington a copy of the summons and complaint in Federal court.

As these bureau orders increase, these problems about which I speak to you increase proportionately the problems of our people. What I wish to emphasize in a simple way is that I certainly believe in some form of judicial appeal from unreasonable orders or unreasonable regulations or directives. I do not care whether you call it a Walter-Logan bill or what, but I believe our courts are the proper places for those serious questions to be decided. There will not be many appeals, but where there is serious question that an injustice is being done there should be a law which permits these appeals. It is our solemn duty to maintain and sustain the Bill of Rights and the constitutional form of government.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House heretofore made, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KEEFE] for 30 minutes.

NORWAY AND THE NORWEGIAN MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, the agreements signed at the recent Moscow Conference implemented by overwhelming

approval by the Senate of the United States clearly demonstrate that the free people of the world are determined to collaborate with each other in a post-war program designed to preserve peace and to insure justice and equality of opportunity to the sovereign nations of the world. It is proper, therefore, in the midst of these discussions that we should take time to appraise the status of one of our active allies.

I refer to Norway and its heroic people. No amount of international discussion can dim the luster of the brilliant record of the Norwegian people in the present war.

With about 74 percent of its 125,000-square-mile area made up of rugged mountains and moors, glaciers and lakes, and lying geographically the farthest north of all civilized nations, it should immediately be apparent that down through the centuries its people had to develop characteristics of sturdiness, ingenuity, and thrift in order to maintain a livelihood. With a coast line of more than 2,100 miles and approximately 12,000 miles if measured in terms of the inlets and large islands, it is perfectly apparent that for centuries the Norwegian people have been compelled through sheer necessity to look to the sea as a source of living and transportation.

This close contact with the violent forces of nature has developed a rugged, reliable, and adventurous type of people. The pages of history are replete with heroic records of bold Norwegian adventurers. The spirit of the early Vikings, who knew how to combat and overcome the terrors of the Arctic, finds expression today in the solid character of the men and women of Norway, who, prior to the invasion of their peaceful country on April 9, 1940, by the lustful hordes of Hitler, had developed a national economy that has been acclaimed by liberty-loving and peace-loving people throughout the world.

The sons and daughters of Norway who came to this country in the years prior to restricted immigration, over a million strong, have integrated themselves as thorough Americans and by precept and example have played an important role in the development of our ever-expanding economy.

In the years preceding the German invasion the people of Norway had overcome almost insurmountable difficulties in developing a solid, firm domestic economy with a high standard of living and an economic system based upon the most advanced ideas of social reform.

With a population of about 3,000,000, with only a small portion of her total land area subject to cultivation, and with mining and manufacturing industries engaged in only on a small scale, the Norwegian people in the decades immediately prior to the outbreak of the present war maintained steady progress. Thousands of small farms were carved out of the hillsides without destroying the forest lands which have played such an important part in the internal economy of Norway. Her rivers and waterfalls have been harnessed to provide electricity, and the nation was well on

the way, through the means of hydroelectric power, to independence from imported coal as a means of heat and light. New and valuable mineral deposits were discovered and developed. The fishing industry was expanded. Modern cooperative methods of marketing and distribution were introduced, and many new markets were developed at home and abroad. The paper and pulp industry was expanded and modernized. New industries such as whaling and fur farming were carefully developed under governmental supervision and encouragement as a means of contribution to the expanding economy of the Norwegian people.

Transportation in the form of railroads and highways and airfields was rapidly being developed to serve the national interests. Along with this great industrial and agricultural development, there came important social reforms with provisions for old-age pensions, sick insurance, unemployment compensation, aids to the underprivileged and the helpless and disabled, advanced educational opportunities and a well-developed system of municipally owned utilities. The nation developed a strong and courageous free press that kept the public informed. Public cultural and recreational facilities, along with technical and scientific research were well under way when the blighting hand of the Nazis struck down this small but efficient and courageous nation.

I have called attention to some of the progress made by this nation of God-fearing people because it serves to highlight the background of the great industry of Norway, which down through the centuries has been closely identified with the sea. Because of her inability to produce the things necessary for an expanding domestic economy, imports have vastly exceeded exports. As a result, the Norwegian people have been compelled to develop a great merchant fleet, the income from which has enabled Norway to balance its accounts with other nations of the world. This great fleet has been developed by private capital without government subsidies.

How well they have succeeded through the years in their development of a great maritime industry is reflected by a few simple facts: The total merchant tonnage under the Norwegian flag at the outbreak of the present war was seven and one-half million dead-weight tons. Including all types of ships, Norway's merchant marine in 1939 ranked third among the nations of the world. Only Great Britain and the United States had a greater tonnage. Truly on the outbreak of the war, Norwegian shipping was in truth and in fact carrying a large part of the maritime tonnage to the four corners of the world. This great fleet of fast, modern motor vessels, 40 percent of which were the finest and most modern tankers in the world, was widely scattered at the outbreak of hostilities.

Immediately, the Royal Norwegian Government requisitioned all of Norway's merchant fleet for war use. By means of the London radio, the masters of more than a thousand ships then on

the high seas were ordered to report immediately to Britain or allied ports. Despite all of the efforts of Hitler's agents to confuse the orders, the Norwegian masters, without exception, brought their ships into the service of the Allies. These fast modern merchant ships, together with the 25,000 Norwegian seamen that manned them, played a most conspicuous part in the long months of the Battle of Britain, which followed the collapse of France. Norwegian seamen, braving the dangers of submarine- and mine-infested waters, carried to England more than 50 percent of that nation's supply of oil and gasoline.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I am glad the gentleman is paying this much deserved tribute to the people of Norway and to other free Scandinavian peoples. It happens that a part of the background from which the plot of Rolvag's Giants of the Earth was written is in the district I represent in South Dakota. I have, therefore, learned to know and to admire the stalwart qualities of the Norwegian people, and the record which the Norwegian seamen are making in carrying troops and munitions of war for the United Nations. This indicates that the people of Norway are not only giants of the earth but giants of the sea as well.

Mr. KEEFE. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

High-ranking British officers have given testimony to the fact that this contribution of the Norwegian merchant fleet was of decisive importance in the Battle of Britain. A real estimate of this contribution is to be found in the London newspapers, which declared that the Norwegian fleet was worth more in the Battle of Britain than an army of a million men. Thus we find this great fleet, privately owned, suddenly requisitioned in toto by the Royal Norwegian Government in the service of the allied cause.

There was then established the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission, which operates as an agency of the Royal Norwegian Government. The entire revenue from the fleet goes to the Norwegian Government. It is practically the only revenue at present available to the Norwegian Government out of which its costs of administration can be paid. Out of the earnings of the Norwegian merchant fleet are paid the expenses for maintaining the Norwegian Army, Navy, and Air Forces, which are constantly being expanded in the Allied cause. Out of these earnings must also come the funds with which to pay the interest and amortization on the Norwegian Government loans.

No compensation has been paid to the Norwegian shipowners. Thus we find the little country of Norway making an outstanding contribution to the war effort through the medium of the greatest material resource at her command. True, I could discuss the spiritual and material opposition which the loyal Nor-

wegian people are constantly offering to the attempts of Hitler and his cohorts to subdue them. That tragic story must await another time.

With the necessity for constantly expanding national income due to the continued development of the Norwegian Army, Navy, and Air Forces, the question involved in the development of the Norwegian merchant fleet assumes major importance. Of the seven and one-half million deadweight tons of shipping owned by Norwegian operators in September 1939, 4,000,000 tons have been captured or sunk since the invasion of Norway. This leaves approximately three and one-half million tons of pre-war tonnage still afloat.

What has been done by the United States and Great Britain to replace this invaluable tonnage lost by Norway? The records indicate that replacements so far obtained by the Norwegian merchant fleet consists of 19 vessels obtained from Great Britain of 191,000 tons, dead weight; and 8 vessels totaling 78,000 tons dead weight acquired for operational purposes only from the United States. This replacement of tonnage only amounts to about 6.7 percent of the losses sustained by the Norwegian merchant ships up to date. As a result of the tremendous loss of merchant ships and tankers, thousands of expert Norwegian seamen, navigators, officers, engineers, and other licensed personnel are on the beach unable to find employment. This reserve of trained personnel is immediately available for the manning of replacement ships provided the proper authorities of Great Britain and the United States can release sufficient tonnage. This question presents a problem of simple justice. Norway, as no other nation on the face of the globe, is dependent upon her merchant marine. She must have help. That help should be forthcoming now. If we are to crystallize our promises of cooperative effort among sovereign people of the world, and if we are to recognize the contributions made by small nations in the active fight against Nazi tyranny, then it seems to me that simple justice demands that those in authority in Britain and the United States shall lend a sympathetic ear to the pleas of a great people, and extend to Norway the immediate right to participate in the giant pool of reserve merchant shipping which is so rapidly being built up under our war shipping program. As a nation we cannot afford to allow the economy of a great democracy like Norway to collapse, and it would be manifestly tragic and unfair to expect this heroic people to expend years of effort in an attempt to replace the shipping which they have lost as a result of their magnificent contribution to the war effort.

The people of Norway are our friends. They are our active allies. They expect no charity, but while facing continued hazards on the high seas, and with their families being ruthlessly oppressed at home, they have a right in my judgment to expect and receive simple justice.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from

Ohio [Mr. RAMEY] is recognized for 10 minutes.

CARELESS USE OF WORDS

Mr. RAMEY. Mr. Speaker, the greatest utterance ever made by the President of the United States was, "Freedom of speech means nothing if you have nothing to say." On this sacred day, it is fitting to remember that the greatest patriotism is silence and action. During the past few days utterances have been made which, although patriotic in sound, were in fact counterfeit utterances which were seeking to exploit the taxpaying public as well as our brave sons. It was a Democratic Attorney General who once made a statement in the nature of a public proclamation, "Patriotism is often the refuge of a scoundrel," quoting Dr. Samuel Johnson. Every man and woman here in this body is alert to duty and is here to give his all in service, completely forgetting himself, his future, or any personal benefit. Most Members here have sons in the Army and some of these sons have made the supreme sacrifice. Yet, at the same time, some of these sons wonder why a blanket brand of lack of duty and sometimes even patriotism, is hurled at their parents just because they refuse to vote to throw away money or insist on requiring a professional audit by their own Congress on every appropriation they make. The Constitution provides that all bills for the raising of revenue must originate in this body and with that responsibility goes the duty of seeing that nothing is wasted and the substance of America exploited and thus a bad reception as to substance when the armed sons return. Truly, the power to tax is the power to destroy and these sons do not wish to return to a country thus destroyed. These armed sons of the Republic want to see a country which does not waste its assets in the name of patriotism while they are crushing the bandits abroad. It is our duty to crush banditry here.

H. G. Wells said "When a man is too lazy to think, he uses slogans or calls names." Unthinking people who style themselves too cultured to use profanity use slogans instead. Slogans lately used are "Internationalists," "Isolationists," "Visionary daydreamers," "Pink professors." People who call others these names reason with their diaphragms and think with their lungs. One biologist said, "They have torpid livers where their cerebrums should be."

There are no what we might call isolationists of consequence. A so-called isolationist would worship the devil because of his antiquity. Almost every Member of this House is a real internationalist, so-called, and by this I mean a constructive citizen of the world who is keeping his foot on the ground. The so-called internationalist who wants to forget completely the United States of America—and these are very few—is opposed to eternity because it is too slow. We should be neither fantastic shadow dancers nor stand-patters. We should be sure steppers, one step at a time.

Our great university presidents and instructors, as well as our teachers everywhere, should not be branded as day-dreamers or as "pink." They represent, indeed, a most unselfish profession. Never clock-watchers, they unselfishly toil upward into the night in behalf of others and with consecration in behalf of justice for all and for a world where the symbol of hate will never again be able to start a forward march. To them more than most any other group are we indebted for the fact that it will not happen again. At times, of course, they have blundered but they have blundered forward. True, some peace forums have been mutual admiration societies, but that applies to only about one out of a thousand. It is unfortunate that that one has sometimes been emphasized. To these good and great peace forums, this body is indebted truly for having first given us a charter of thought and action.

The greatest slander is that cheap slogan "Midwest isolationist."

Citizens of the eastern and western seaboard should realize what the unselfish, practical, world-thinking Middle West is doing for them. Most of them on these seaboard are grateful in spite of the fact that a few of those on the receiving end from the seaboard still receive and call these hard, patriotic toilers names. These praying parents of the Middle West will still give and give and give and do without and do without. Read the history of the patriotic motherhood of Ohio; read the record of Ohio's gallant soldier-Governor who has the public service of a surplus in that State for the Buckeye soldiers when they return. Not lip service but constructive deeds.

There now is no east nor west, no north or south, nor no midwest. All are now citizens of the world with the heritage of principle for guidance. That is why we left the Old World in order to allow freedom of worship, speech, and press as well as to escape from the tyranny of oppression of taxation without representation. That we now, as their residuary legatees, give to the world and in this, world justice will demand as a parchment for perpetual action in the new world charter of action. Let us have patriotism without ostentation; courage without boldness; pursuit of the line of duty without glamor and exhibitionism; and meekness without stupidity.

This broad land of ours was not made good that it should wither and die or be blasted out of existence or into smoking ruins and blackened chimneys. We shall not perish. But a heavy obligation is laid upon us to see to it that this earth of majesty and land of plenty and happiness is preserved for humanity, and to achieve that end nothing is too great to ask of any of us. If our country can ask that our boys lay down their lives in your defense and mine, it is very little to ask of our Congressmen that he forget petty matters and forget himself in the physical safety that is his, and vote solidly for what is needed to win, regardless of consequences to himself or anyone else.

LXXXIX—593

THE RUBBER PROGRAM

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, since making my last remarks on the rubber program I am very happy to report to you that the industry has moved much further forward than I at first anticipated. Briefly I give here some brief facts:

All told in our synthetic-rubber program about 59 plants are involved.

These plants are located in the following States: Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, California, Arkansas, Ohio, Michigan, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Canada.

Plants making alcohol from grain and molasses are located in some other States, including Midwest States such as Nebraska.

The Federal investment in these plants is around \$750,000,000.

We are producing today at the rate of 437,000 tons of synthetic rubber per year.

At the end of 1943 we will be producing at the rate of 646,000 tons per year. Peacetime consumption under normal conditions is about 700,000 tons.

In the second quarter of 1944 we will be producing at the rate of 850,000 tons of synthetic rubber per year. All plants will be operating at full capacity by that time.

Our factories are making rubber from two optional raw material bases—oil and alcohol.

Petroleum byproducts available from cracking oil to make 100-octane gas and fuel is one base. Or oil itself may be refined to give off the byproduct gases needed for synthetic rubber.

Alcohol from grains, corn, potatoes, and so forth, or from cane or beets.

Styrene—about one-fifth ingredient of Government rubber styrene type is made from coal combined with ethylene produced from either oil or alcohol.

Butadiene—combined with styrene—about 5 to 1—makes Government rubber styrene.

One car of styrene and four cars of butadiene make about four cars of Government rubber styrene and, for information of Members, I placed in the lobby a chart explaining this subject.

It is expected that Government styrene type rubber will be produced at 7 cents a pound post-war.

THE PRESENT COST

We are making synthetic rubber from byproducts of petroleum for about 20 cents a pound. Some of the same kind of rubber being made by plants which are not yet in full operation cost as much as 65 cents a pound.

The present average cost of the rubber produced in our synthetic-rubber plants is 41 cents a pound.

Each month as the plants come into full operation costs become more standardized and lower. Competitive costs with raw rubber are expected after the war.

There is continued experimentation and laboratory work going which is helping to improve the product.

Mr. Speaker, before the war the United States was not self-sufficient in a very critical material—rubber. We did not have sufficient rubber to take care of our own needs. Up to that time we were entirely dependent on our rubber supplies from the Dutch and British monopolies who controlled most of the raw-rubber resources of the world. When the Japanese captured the rubber plantations of the Far East, the supply of raw rubber we had on hand in the United States was not sufficient for civilian needs and far from enough to take care of the great demands of our armed services. We immediately launched upon a gigantic program to make synthetic rubber. The story of that program has been told to you many times. So I will confine myself to bringing it a little more up to date.

Up to this time we have invested approximately \$750,000,000 of Federal funds in the construction and operation of plants in various States. These plants are operated by private industry, some of which had made valuable experiments in the synthetic-rubber field long before the war. The construction and operation program had moved along much faster than I had anticipated and much faster than I indicated in my previous remarks on this subject. The fact is that by the end of this year these plants are expected to be completed and will be turning out enough synthetic rubber to make us self-sufficient under normal times and will make us practically independent of the supplies we normally received from the plantations in the Far East.

Although this report is very optimistic so far as the supplies of synthetic rubber are concerned, this does not mean that everybody who wants an automobile tire can get one. The reason is that there is a bottleneck in the matter of the manufacturing of the tire itself. Rayon, cotton fabric, and the shortage of labor are problems which must be and are being solved in these factories. But so far as synthetic rubber is concerned and the supply we are in the clear. The \$750,000,000 of Federal funds which we have invested is in actuality producing rubber in huge quantities.

The question now is, Are we going to abandon these valuable synthetic-rubber plants when the war is over? Or are we again going to surrender our dependence on this critical material to foreign monopoly and endanger ourselves again should a crisis face us? I take the negative side of that question and make the declaration that we must not only preserve these rubber plants for the American people and put to use all of our natural resources but we must encourage the improvement of these plants and make them flow into private channels of American industry in order that they will be part of the gigantic program to solve the economic war which will face us in the post-war period. We must never again face the pathetic situation

as regards rubber as we were faced with before Pearl Harbor.

The demand for many years after the war for all kinds of rubber will be very great. Products in the hands of people of the world are being used up and are not being replaced. That demand is going to be big enough to absorb the supply of crude and synthetic rubber for several years to come. By that time the United States will have gained a great amount of experience in the use of synthetic rubber. The quality of synthetic rubber will be improved. The special purposes of synthetic rubber now being developed will be perfected. For many purposes synthetic rubber may prove superior to crude rubber, and vice versa. Is it not logical and wise to let synthetic rubber and crude rubber compete, both as to price and usefulness? Usefulness for the hundreds of purposes for which rubber is produced today and for the hundreds of new uses which will be found in the future?

The people of the United States have an investment of over \$750,000,000 in synthetic-rubber plants which are now in operation and which will be completed this year. These plants are operated by private industry, some of which have experienced for many years in synthetic rubber. Let me give you the names of some of the industries operating these plants: The Bigler Chemical, Carbide-E-Carbon, Cities Service-Refinery, Humble Oil Co., Koppers United Co., Neches Butane, Phillips Petroleum, Polymer Corporation, Ltd., Shell Chemical Co., Southern California Gas, Sinclair Rubber Inc., Standard Oil, Eastern States Petroleum, Lion Oil Eastern Refinery, Sun Oil Co., Taylor Refining Co., Dow Chemical Co., Monsanto Chemical, Firestone Tire, Copolymer Corporation, B. F. Goodrich Co., Goodyear Tire, General Tire, United States Rubber Co., E. I. du Pont.

I am sure you will agree with me that this great group of industry at war is well equipped to participate in the great economic war with which we will be faced in the very near future.

The great investment we have made in this synthetic program can well be combined with American science and industry to play its part to solve a possible future crisis. Certainly this program should not be destroyed and wasted for the benefit of foreign monopolies as has been suggested only recently. This private industry operating these Government plants knows a lot about synthetic rubber, and they are learning more about it every day. It is my sincere belief that private capital is going to want to purchase these plants and operate them without a subsidy. You need only to read of the patent agreements and cross-licensing plans of these organizations as contained in the progress report No. 4 which I will include in my remarks. What a great augmentation these plants will be to the original experiments conducted by some of these private organizations.

Further argument that these plants must not be abandoned after the war is based on the fact that the Government is going to sell the rubber from these

plants. Every pound is badly needed. If this rubber is fairly priced, this Government investment will be paid for in the not too distant future.

The American spirit of competitive business can take these plants and operate them in competition with natural rubber. Some amortization should be allowed for emergency construction costs so that these plants can be purchased by private industry without any loss to the Government.

One of the remarkable things that can be said about our rubber program is that William Jeffers, who took the Baruch committee report as his background, accomplished in 1 year what would have ordinarily taken 10 to 12 years. This is truly remarkable when critical materials and labor shortage are taken into consideration in wartime. To do this Mr. Jeffers called on Bradley Dewey, the present Rubber Director, to head his technical scientific staffs.

Among many who have done outstanding jobs is Frank Creedon, in charge of construction. His division supervised the erection of these plants; secured for them outstanding priorities which made their completion possible in such a short time.

In other part of the program Mr. L. D. Tompkins was borrowed from United States Rubber Co. to be in charge of operations. His work has involved scheduling of crude rubber for various products. By keeping the use of crude rubber to a minimum he has been able to preserve the United States stock pile. Certain crude rubber has had to be used in heavy-duty truck and bus tires for the military and civilian transportation. Not to mention for the huge airplane tires which are so vital to our bomber fleet all over the world.

Another outstanding man in the organization was Mr. E. E. Babcock who was loaned to the organization by the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. He has been responsible for the substitution of synthetic rubber as it became available for crude rubber.

There are about 275 people employed in this great organization at this time and among them are scores of valuable Americans whose work has helped make the program so successful.

So, as I have said, I believe there is room for both synthetic-rubber plants and crude-rubber production. Let the better product win, both as to price and usefulness.

There has been much discussion about what the price of rubber will be when the war is over and after all of the "bugs" are eliminated from the present program. The fact that it is officially stated that rubber can be made in the post-war period for as low as 7 cents a pound in these synthetic plants would indicate that American synthetic rubber will successfully compete with crude rubber or natural rubber. Some time in the near future, when I have accumulated additional figures, I will place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some figures which will indicate that even synthetic rubber made from grain alcohol will successfully compete with raw rub-

ber. The high price of alcohol of 85 cents per gallon as compared to the normal price of 45 cents a gallon indicates that rubber made from grain alcohol may be somewhat prohibitive. However, new processes have been developed, and I am told this new process will bring the price of grain alcohol down to a low level with the result that synthetic rubber made from grain alcohol will be in the competitive field with rubber made from molasses products or petroleum products.

Mr. Speaker, William Jeffers, the former Rubber Director, issued his first progress report on November 30, 1942. On February 18, 1943, he issued progress report No. 2. On May 17, 1943, he issued progress report No. 3. Each of these reports gives a romantic and a very exhaustive picture of the remarkable work accomplished by this Nebraskan. On November 10, 1943, Col. Bradley Dewey, the new Rubber Director, who was one of the keymen in Mr. Jeffers' organization, issued the fourth progress report. This report brings the story up to date and gives so much valuable information that I include it with my remarks:

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,
OFFICE OF RUBBER DIRECTOR.
PROGRESS REPORT No. 4
THE BASIC SITUATION

The supply of tires and other essential rubber goods continues short and will be so for a long time, but, given adequate feed stocks, fuel, and other essential materials and labor, no one need worry about this country's ability to produce synthetic rubber. The task of constructing the vast new synthetic-rubber industry is nearing completion; the more important processes have been proven, the characteristics of the synthetics are constantly being evaluated for a vast number of products, and daily the rubber manufacturing industry is improving its techniques for using the new forms of rubber. Synthetic rubbers in large quantity are being produced and used, and by the early part of 1944 all of the plants in the production program will have been completed and will be in production. The critical question of 1942, "Can enough rubber be produced before exhaustion of the crude-rubber stock pile?" has been answered in the affirmative.

Availability of synthetic rubber, however, does not immediately assure an adequate number of tires or other rubber products. As is well known, the synthetic-rubber construction program is being completed far later than we wished, and as a result many of the corollary programs necessarily had to wait until experience with the use of synthetic rubber could be gained. But now the job of translating raw materials into a sufficiency of suitable military and consumer rubber products is under way. The solution is dependent upon management, labor, scientists, and engineers in and out of the rubber industry. It demands the utmost of self-sacrificing cooperation by all.

The rubber program in the past year presented four major programs: (1) the increase of reclaim rubber production and of retreading materials and facilities; (2) the construction and development of plants to produce synthetic rubbers and their principal raw materials, butadiene and styrene; (3) the expansion of the rubber manufacturing industry to process synthetic rubber into usable products; and (4) the expansion and conversion of allied industries to produce the necessary components of rubber goods, such as high-tensile rayon tire cords, carbon blacks,

and so forth—materials essential to the making of rubber goods. The first two programs are effectively behind us, while the other two are underway. Upon the speed of completion of the latter two, together with effective management and a sound manpower and labor situation, depends the time when this country will be able to get enough rubber products to maintain the irreducible needs of modern warfare and essential civilian transportation. In the meantime the allocation of available tire production as between essential military needs on the one hand and essential trucks and busses on the other will be one of our most difficult problems.

Since the last report of progress from this office, we have been confronted with the much larger requirements of the armed forces for heavy duty, combat, and airplane tires as a result of changing war conditions, and the ineffective general manpower situation which has made it difficult to man even existing equipment.

The next 6 to 9 months will be the most difficult. The effect of a global war, the past 2 years of wear and tear upon existing tires, and the necessity, in order to save crude rubber, of building only military and a few most essential tires has emphasized the scarcity of tires. The inventories of tires built up in times of peace have now been drawn down to an irreducible minimum; the requirements of the military forces are tremendous and have increased materially, and while new production will increase, it will have to wait for the gradual installation and manning of the expansions of other programs. A shortage of rayon tire cord has required, and continues to require an excessive use of crude rubber. In the meantime, the greatest conservation must be maintained. For a long time to come, recapped tires must continue to carry much of the transportation burden.

REVIEW OF SYNTHETIC RUBBER PLANT PROGRAM

As described in previous reports of this office, the synthetic-rubber program of the United States and Canada has a rated capacity of 850,000 long tons per year. Of this total, plants to produce Buna S have a capacity of 735,000 long tons, butyl plants 75,000 long tons, and neoprene 40,000 long tons. Another 9,000 long tons of neoprene are being produced in a pre-war private plant. The geographical distribution of these capacities is shown in exhibit A. Exhibit D at the end of the report shows the priorities applicable to the various units and the relationship of the present rated capacities to the original recommendations of the Baruch committee.

As of October 31, 1943, the program has progressed to the point where completed plants have a rated annual capacity of 646,000 long tons of rubber. This progress is best shown in the tabulation below, which includes the status of construction of plants producing butadiene and styrene:

Product	Rated capacity		Percent completed
	Long tons	Long tons	
Buna S.....	735,000	585,000	80
Butyl.....	75,000	21,000	28
Neoprene.....	40,000	40,000	100
	850,000	646,000	76
Butadiene:	Short tons	Short tons	
From alcohol.....	230,000	200,000	87
From petroleum.....	460,400	179,900	39
	690,400	379,900	55
Styrene.....	202,700	163,700	81

Eighty-seven percent of the butadiene-from-alcohol plants have been completed and 39 percent of those producing butadiene from petroleum. This is due to three principal factors:

1. Ninety-six percent of the butadiene-from-alcohol plants received the highest priorities (first directive) while only 40 percent of the petroleum plants had that priority advantage.

2. The 3 butadiene-from-alcohol plants at Institute, Louisville, and Pittsburgh (Kobuta) are made up of 11 identical 20,000-ton units which involved only 1 design problem and simplified building of duplicate units.

3. A major raw material for butadiene from petroleum sources is butylene made in the cracking of oil, largely by the use of the modern catalytic cracking processes now being built for the high-octane gasoline program. The oil industry has undergone a huge expansion program to supply this material as well as other materials for the production of butadiene and high-octane gasoline. Manpower, as well as shortages of critical component parts, has delayed the construction of both butadiene plants and the raw material feed stock plants.

Since the last report of this office, the only changes in the program have been the cancellation of an 8,000-ton oil refinery conversion butadiene plant and the upward revision by about 10,000 tons per year of the butadiene-from-alcohol plants.

The butadiene-from-alcohol plants have given an excellent account of themselves and for some time have produced at substantially higher than rated capacity. These plants have been the principal source of butadiene for the last few months. This will continue to be the case until early next year.

Disappointments have been encountered in the production of butyl rubber. Intensive research is being carried on in the hope of finding a satisfactory solution to this problem. Pending results of this research, production is negligible and the burden must be carried by other rubbers.

All neoprene plants have been completed and are producing at rated capacity. These have been among the most successful parts of the entire rubber program, and great credit is due to the designers and operators of these plants.

As was to be expected, plants have encountered varying degrees of difficulty in starting up. They are part of a new industry which, because of the urgencies of war, had to start from scratch. As a rule there was no time to test processes in pilot plants prior to construction. There has been no time for the normal steps. The fact that so many problems have been solved in so short a time reflects great tribute to this country's chemical and engineering industry. The resourcefulness of its personnel has produced almost a miracle.

Plants are running, producing raw materials. Synthetic rubbers in increasing quantities are being delivered to rubber manufacturers in this country and abroad for conversion into rubber products. The principal processes have been proven in commercial production so that today it is possible to say with assurance that the production of synthetic rubbers, with the exception of butyl, has passed the doubtful stage. Early next year practically all of the construction will have been completed. In the meantime, barring unforeseen developments, existing plants will produce enough synthetic rubbers to keep the rubber manufacturing industry operating at its present limited capacity.

MANUFACTURING FACILITIES PROGRAM

When this country was cut off from its rubber supplies and severe restrictions were placed upon the rubber manufacturers, the industry turned to the production of many products which it had never before produced.

These included not only goods made with rubber, but also nonrubber ordnance items and other war products, such as ammunition and guns. Its excellent facilities and buildings were converted to such new manufacture. Equipment which was not in early 1942 being used in the manufacture of tires was moved out of existing buildings and stored. Rubber warehouses were converted into manufacturing units.

With synthetic rubber now available and with military and essential civilian demands increasing, the rubber industry is again called upon to fabricate an enormous number of rubber products, particularly tires of large sizes for combat vehicles, airplanes, trucks, busses, and farm implements.

Pre-war facilities and equipment left in place are now entirely insufficient to meet the new demands. In addition, synthetic rubber has, to date, required additional machinery and longer processing time than did natural crudes. As a result, the industry has embarked upon an expansion in plant capacity and facilities in which it will invest over \$70,000,000 of its own capital.

Only two new rubber-fabricating plants are now scheduled to be built. The balance of the program calls for expansions of existing plants at established locations and the acquisition and installation of new milling and processing equipment. New war activities, which rubber companies carried on while they were producing lesser quantities of tires, are being moved to other locations more suitable under present conditions. The Army has turned back to the industry two large tire plants which were being used for the production of ordnance items.

This expansion program involves an increase of capacity at Akron, Los Angeles, and other places at which plants now exist. It is wiser to secure these new facilities quickly by expansion of present plants rather than to wait from 12 to 18 months for the construction of new plants in other locations, which, in addition, would require new organizations and the training of new employees.

However, expansion of plant facilities alone will not produce the volume of tires and other products needed to support the war. Greater output per man-hour on the part of labor, reduction in absenteeism, more efficient flow of materials, better management planning, and improved distribution of manpower are all essential to this program. Labor and management are working together and it is to be hoped that improved results will come from their cooperative action.

With the engineering of the projects largely finished and the approvals of various parts by the War Production Board secured, the program should move full speed ahead. Even with their high priorities, their completion will require from 4 to 12 months. Not for a year will the fully expanded output of the industry be realized.

TIRE CORD PROGRAM

In April of this year, this office submitted its 1944 requirements for rayon and cotton tire cords. These needs were based on the then-stated requirements for tires on the part of the armed forces and for necessary essential civilian transportation. They called for a broad conversion in both the rayon and cotton textile industries. Now, the needs are even greater.

After some unfortunate delays, the program for these facilities has been set by the War Production Board and we are assured that it will move forward at the fastest rate possible.

Airplane and certain types of heavy-duty military and truck and bus tires cannot be made satisfactorily of synthetic rubber except in conjunction with rayon tire cord. The shortage of rayon tire cord prevents a more complete conversion to synthetics for these tires.

Although the cotton-cord situation is very tight, we are assured by the Textiles Division of the War Production Board that it will provide adequate supplies.

THE BALANCE SHEET OF RUBBER

The most important concern of this office has been and is the conservation of the crude-rubber stock pile so that, even when synthetics are plentiful, there will still be left a working stock for use where some crude rubber is necessary in combination with synthetics, for example, in large size over-the-road truck and bus tires. To that end, conversion of products to synthetics has been put into effect as quickly as research has solved the problems involved and synthetics have become available.

The present crude-rubber stock pile, together with new imports from those tropical countries remaining in United Nations' hands, must carry us through. It is a difficult problem. At the start, the synthetic-rubber program was materially delayed by many differences of opinion and shortages of materials which combined to postpone the availability of synthetics and the opportunity of substituting them for crude. Shortages of rayon tire cord and manufacturing facilities will further reduce the crude position.

In order to tide this country through the period when rayon is unavailable in sufficient quantity to produce the large requirements of the armed forces and domestic transportation companies for heavy duty tires, the greatest care must be taken to prevent any avoidable use of any crude rubber.

Imports of natural crude rubber for 1943 are now expected to total 60,000 long tons. It is expected that imports in 1944 will be augmented by increased shipments from British territory and be about a third greater than in 1943. As a result of the creation by the President of the Office of Foreign Economic Administration, all American development and procurement programs in foreign countries have become its responsibility.

Scrap rubber

The country has a satisfactory supply of scrap rubber on hand. As of September 30, 1943, this amounted to approximately 754,000 tons, including 463,000 tons of pneumatic tires and tire parts. The monthly usage is about 35,000 tons.

The tire-collection plan of last year brought in approximately 12,000,000 tires. These tires were stored in guarded reservations and most of them have been sorted (some several times) to secure every usable tire which could be repaired or recapped and reissued for use by essential drivers. Usable tires are also being recovered at reclaiming plants. The tires which have been found unusable are being held for the manufacture of reclaimed rubber.

Besides tires, a large amount of assorted scrap was collected by the Government in the scrap drive of a year ago. Much of this has been and is being used in the manufacture of reclaimed rubber. A part of this miscellaneous scrap, however, is of such low quality that it cannot be used and will have to be destroyed by burning or otherwise.

REQUIREMENTS

The Office of Rubber Director receives from various Government agencies their stated requirements for rubber products. The armed forces, of course, are the largest users of such products. These requirements are translated by this office into requirements of rubber and the many components—tire cords, carbon blacks, chemicals, etc.—that go into their production. Requirements for components are then transmitted to the branches of Government having jurisdiction. The natural rubbers and synthetic rubbers are our responsibility.

Military requirements

The vast airplane and other equipment programs of our armed forces are naturally dictated by the exigencies of war. Now, increasing quantities of rubber products are required and the rubber industry is called upon to make them, while at the same time providing essential products for the home front.

Within the last few months the principal increase in requirements of the armed forces has been for large-sized tires for combat vehicles and airplanes. It is needless to point out that the manufacture of these not only requires substantially greater quantities of rubber, tire cords, and other components, but has imposed upon the industry the necessity of obtaining new equipment with which to produce these tires. It has also accentuated an already very difficult manpower problem.

While the number of tires required in 1944 is probably less than the total units produced by the rubber industry in any year prior to the war, a large proportion of present requirements is in the very large size tires. The result increases the strain upon the industry. The production of one large bomber tire cancels out the possibility of making several truck tires or up to 30 passenger-car tires.

Truck and bus tires

Truck and bus tires are one of the serious problems facing this country today. Overloading and, in many cases, higher-than-recommended speeds already have taken a serious toll of these tires. New tires cannot be produced in sufficient quantity in the immediate future to prevent an extension of the present shortage. The requirements of the armed forces absorb the first and largest percentage of new production. It is not the supply of synthetic rubber that will limit the making of the large sizes of tires, but the shortage of manpower, the shortage of high-tenacity rayon cord, and the current lack of adequate facilities in the industry, i. e., mills, calenders, tire-building equipment, vulcanizers, and special large-sized molds. Today, the industry is making many of these large tires from the same materials it always has used and will so do until more rayon is available.

To bridge the crisis in domestic transportation which this situation implies and keep their industry in operation, the truck and bus industry must cooperate as never before. Overloading and speeding, especially on hot pavements, must be eliminated, and every tire carcass which can be saved by recapping must be so preserved. The length of time during which truck and bus operators can successfully do their job will depend upon the care given their tires.

Passenger-car size tires

By the end of 1943 there will have been distributed during the year approximately 5,000,000 new synthetic tires, 4,500,000 pre-Pearl Harbor tires, 1,700,000 war tires made from reclaimed rubber, 3,800,000 used tires recovered from the collection of tires made last year, and 2,200,000 emergency tires which may be serviceable for short distances. This is a total of 17,200,000 tires of passenger-car sizes for 1943—equivalent in service to perhaps 12,000,000 new tires, as compared with approximately 50,000,000 tires a year prior to the war.

Nation-wide surveys show that the tires on passenger cars, light delivery trucks, taxis, and farm vehicles are showing serious wear. The accumulated deficit, together with a less-than-normal obsolescence of cars, indicates a need for new tires of this type in 1944 of at least 30,000,000.

While 30,000,000 tires sounds like a large number, it should be pointed out that by the end of 1944 the country will have been on a starvation diet for 3 years, inasmuch as only 4,700,000 tires were released in 1942. Every owner of a car must come to the reali-

zation that he is now in a position of trusteeship for the benefit of the Nation insofar as his present tires are concerned. To prevent further and more drastic restrictions in the use of motor vehicles, he must redouble his efforts at conservation.

RECLAIMING AND RECAPPING

The reclaiming and recapping parts of the rubber industry have done an outstanding job of expansion and production to meet the emergency. Camelback (the formed, compounded-rubber-tread stock) used to retread tires, is still bridging the gap in tire production. Recapping material is now available in greater quantity than ever before. Buna S is being added to camelback, thereby making recaps last longer. There is no excuse for a good tire carcass being ruined by driving it to the point where fabric shows and recapping is no longer fully effective. As stated before, recapping must continue to carry a large proportion of the country's transportation system through the serious period ahead.

At the close of 1943 there will have been distributed approximately 167,000,000 pounds of camelback for the recapping of passenger-car tires and 59,000,000 pounds of camelback for truck, bus, and Army tires. This compares with a total of approximately 105,000,000 pounds of all types of camelback distributed in 1942.

Conservation measures have been relaxed in too many localities. Speeds must be held to 35 miles per hour to avoid the increased ratio of tread wear resulting from higher speeds. Bruising and rough driving at high speed must be eliminated as every irreparable carcass injury reduces the available tire supply.

Maintenance of domestic transportation is essential. Pool use of cars to and from factories must continue and increase. The non-essential driver will not get a new tire in the visible future and can stay on the road only if he reduces his driving to bare necessity and recaps his tires on time.

RATIONING

It has been the continued policy of this Office to have restrictions and regulations only where and so long as necessitated by circumstances. In view of the increased shortage of new and used tires and in order that essential transportation be maintained, several changes have been made in the tire-rationing regulations. Without such action serious disruption of war-essential activities would result. Primarily the changes have been put into effect to accomplish three purposes:

1. To restrict eligibility for tires, thereby decreasing effective demand and consumption.
2. To increase the available supply of tires by putting into service all tires which are capable of giving further service, regardless of how limited this service may be.
3. To stretch available tire inventories by extensive tire recapping.

The holder of an A gasoline ration book in the critical gasoline shortage area is not entitled to any sort of tire.

The holder of an A gasoline ration book outside of the gasoline-shortage area is entitled to a used tire only if he can show that part of his driving is occupational. The B book holder throughout the country can get a certificate for a used or emergency tire, but no longer can he get a new tire. Only those whose gasoline ration permits them to drive 601 miles or more per month can get new tires. There are no restrictions on passenger-tire recapping.

Truck-tire rationing is based on the use of the vehicle rather than on mileage. Tires are issued only to those vehicles used for purposes essential to the war effort or essential to the health and safety of the public. Vehicles

not essential to the war effort, public health, or safety are classed as list B and may secure certificates for recapping only. Formerly, list B vehicles had to be deemed essential to the community before they were permitted recapping, but in the interest of keeping tires on such vehicles from being worn beyond repair all commercial vehicles are now permitted a certificate for recapping. It is anticipated that the supply of truck-type camelback will shortly be adequate to permit the elimination of these certificates.

A farmer may establish eligibility for a farm tractor or farm implement tire, and also, in view of the shortage of such tires, when farm tractor or implement tires themselves are not available, he may secure a grade HI passenger tire for the front wheels or a used truck tire for the rear wheels.

There are no restrictions on the recapping of farm tractor tires.

In order to simplify the tire-rationing program, a new tire-rationing certificate was put into use in July. This certificate represents a very substantial simplification both with respect to the issuance by the local boards and its use by the general public. Present restrictions may be expected to remain in effect until such time as the production of synthetic tires is of sufficient volume to warrant a relaxation of the eligibility requirements.

STATISTICS

The following tabulation shows, in long tons, actual use of crude and synthetic rubbers during the first three-quarters of 1943 and estimates of requirements for the last quarter of 1943 and for the year 1944:

	1943				1944		
	Actual first half	Actual third quarter	Estimated fourth quarter	Estimated total	Estimated first half	Estimated second half	Estimated total
Military.....	Tons 132,100	Tons 68,300	Tons 68,000	Tons 268,400	Tons 167,000	Tons 223,000	Tons 390,000
Trucks and busses.....	36,900	23,500	21,000	81,400	64,000	81,000	145,000
Passenger size tires.....	5,300	13,200	24,000	42,500	78,000	106,000	184,000
Other indirect military and civilian.....	14,200	8,900	9,000	32,100	19,000	19,000	38,000
Total United States of America.....	188,500	113,900	122,000	424,400	328,000	429,000	757,000
Exports.....	24,400	16,100	33,000	73,500	70,000	76,000	146,000
Canada.....	17,600	7,500	8,000	33,100	25,000	25,000	50,000
Grand total.....	230,500	137,500	163,000	531,000	423,000	530,000	953,000

The following tabulation shows in long tons the crude rubber, natural latex, and synthetic rubber position for the United States and Canada at the end of 1943 and 1944:

	1943	1944
Inventory, Jan. 1.....	443,000	205,000
New supplies:		
Crude.....	60,000	81,000
Synthetic.....	233,000	818,000
Total.....	736,000	1,104,000
Requirements.....	531,000	953,000
Balance, Dec. 31.....	205,000	151,000

To summarize, it is expected that the stock pile of crude and synthetic rubbers at the end of 1943 will amount to 205,000 long tons and by the end of 1944 to 151,000 long tons. It should be noted, however, that by the end of 1944 a large proportion of the stock pile will be in synthetic rubbers and we will have less crude than the Baruch committee considered an irreducible minimum. During 1944 restrictions on the use of crude rubber will be increased until the ultimate objective of practically complete conversion (all but a few large-tire sizes, etc.) has been obtained and we are able to live within our income of new crude receipts.

CONVERSION TO SYNTHETICS

Certain restrictions which prevented the use of synthetics in the manufacture of many products recently have been lifted. This action was taken to produce longer-lasting products and because more synthetic rubber was being produced. The critical manpower situation throughout the country has made it imperative that every man-hour be used to manufacture products which will give the longest wearing quality.

Recent orders permit the use of synthetic rubber in the manufacture of a wide range of industrial and consumer goods, and in certain instances where nonrubber substitutes have proven inadequate, synthetic rubber has been made available.

One of the principal functions of this office has been to cooperate with industry's technical staffs to stimulate conversion from

the use of natural crude rubber to synthetic rubber in thousands of products. These conversions are made only when products processed from synthetic rubber have demonstrated adequate performance.

The entire production of neoprene is now being used in products where conversions have already been made. Additional products using neoprene have been developed, so that as certain military products are discontinued the production of this rubber can be fully utilized.

Despite the fact that butyl rubber has been available only for experimental and developmental work, many products have been developed to replace natural crude or other synthetics with butyl as soon as it becomes available in quantity.

Obviously, the largest use of rubber is for tires, tubes, and other automotive products. Buna S is carrying this load. At the moment the rubber industry has converted many such products in whole or in part to Buna-s, so that:

A. The use of Buna S is now standard for the production of tires for passenger car sizes, motorcycles, industrial tractors, farm tractors and implements, wheelbarrows, bicycles, and truck and bus tires of the smaller sizes.

B. Except for certain over-the-road bus and truck tires, varying combinations of synthetic and crude rubber (10 percent to 30 percent) are being used on 10-ply 7.00 tires and on all mud and snow and standard highway 7.50 to 10.00 tires.

C. Up to the present time no synthetics are being used (primarily due to a shortage of rayon tire cord) in most sizes of highway truck and bus tires which are used in high speed, heavily loaded service, in truck and bus tires over 10.50 in size, in earth mover, rock service, logger tires, mud and snow tires 18.00 and larger, and in airplane tires of the larger sizes.

Some of the products mentioned above will have the synthetic-rubber content increased by January 1. Many other conversions already approved by the armed services and by industry will be made effective as soon as more rayon tire cord is available.

Whereas steady progress is being made in the conversion program, there are some properties of Buna S which result in the generation of excessive heat and make it doubtful if complete conversion to the synthetics can be effected until new polymers have been further developed and fully proven.

The problem of converting tubes to synthetic rubber has been made especially difficult because of the shortage of butyl rubber. Buna S is being used in tubes for passenger car, motorcycle, farm, truck and bus, and military tires. Crude must be used in certain tubes until butyl or some other such rubber is in greater supply.

Synthetic rubber has now replaced crude for camelback used in retreading truck tires and approximately 40 percent of synthetic rubber has been added to reclaim to improve quality of recapping in all other types of tires.

Larger quantities of special purpose rubbers, such as Buna N, are being used. They are becoming of increasing importance because of their excellent special properties.

RELATIVE PERFORMANCE OF PRODUCTS MANUFACTURED FROM SYNTHETICS

Extensive testing facilities have been made available for the development of products made of synthetic rubbers, particularly for tires, tubes, and automotive accessories, which represent a large part of all requirements in the field. Products made of synthetic rubber are produced commercially only after performance tests have indicated that they will give adequate service. This does not necessarily mean that performance will equal that of the best crude-rubber products made in the past, although in some cases improved performance has resulted.

Tires now being manufactured for military uses have been put into production with synthetic rubber only after exhaustive tests have been made by the Army and their approval obtained. This approval is given only after the tire has shown that it will perform satisfactorily under conditions to which it will be subject.

The quality of synthetic-rubber tires

It cannot be overemphasized that heat, whether from hot pavements or as the result of overloading or high-speed driving, is and always has been detrimental to any tire. Furthermore, it cannot be overemphasized that speed, quick starting, and quick stopping increase the wear of tires. The life of a tire at 35 miles per hour is 50-percent longer than 45 miles per hour, and three times longer than at 60 miles per hour.¹ Since speed produces heat, it not only increases tread wear but also shortens the life of the tire carcass. The shortening of the life of the carcass is extremely serious, for whereas a carcass in good condition can be retreaded, a bad carcass blow-out destroys all chance of retreading. The blow-out, therefore, destroys manpower, rubber, tire cords, wire and pigments, and wastes part of the productive output of existing tire-building machinery. This is true with any tire.

Two properties of Buna S compounds are, under certain high-temperature conditions, inferior to those of crude rubber. When any rubber is submitted to repeated alternate compression or elongation, heat is generated. In the case of Buna S, more heat is generated than with crude rubber. In the case of crude-rubber compounds at high-running temperatures, there is a material loss of not only tensile strength but, more important, of tear resistance. In the case of synthetic-rubber compounds this loss is much greater. Consequently, under identical running conditions, the compounded synthetic stock will not, at

¹Tire Wear and Tire Failures on Various Road Surfaces. R. A. Moyer, Iowa Engineering Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa. See p. 10.

high temperatures, stand as much abuse as will the natural-rubber stock.

Despite these properties, great progress has been made in building tires with synthetics, until today the following situations are found in properly made synthetic tires:

Passenger car size tires

Greater care must be given to synthetic tires than to crude rubber tires. If properly inflated, properly loaded, and not abused, these tires can be driven at reasonably high speed over smooth roads to give 90 percent or more of the tread wear of first-line pre-Pearl Harbor tires, but if hot, as a result of either hot pavements or high-speed driving, these tires are more easily damaged than tires made with crude rubber, especially when driven under abusive conditions, such as hitting holes or rocks in the road, underinflation, or overload.

Military tires and city-service truck and bus tires, etc.

With these tires the situation closely parallels that of passenger-car tires. They give excellent service. Fortunately, overloading and driving at high speeds on hot pavements is not prevalent with these types of tires. The same is true with farm implement, tractor, and industrial pneumatic tires. In the military tires the tread design is helpful, for it minimizes tread cracking.

High-speed over-the-road truck and bus tires

The most serious quality problem with synthetic tires is in those sizes of tires used in over-the-road service. Many constructions have been tested, and great progress is being made. Self-sacrificing cooperation between units of the industry has made this possible. With these tires three new elements come into the picture:

1. There is a close relationship between a tire size and the load it is expected to carry.
2. Because of its greater size and the greater thickness of carcass and tread, more heat is generated and these sizes run hotter.

3. Experience has shown that up to now it is not possible to build serviceable tires without rayon cord and some crude rubber.

When some crude rubber and rayon tire cord are used, together with the most promising of today's techniques, except in two respects, the situation with these tires is not too radically different from that of the passenger-car and military tires. A crude-rubber tire of these sizes, although permanently injured by overloading, will operate under an overload for a much longer time than a comparable synthetic tire. The same overload which would be carried for thousands of miles by a crude-rubber tire may, on a hot road with medium speed, cause the blow-out of a synthetic tire in less than half the mileage. An overload which might reduce the life of a crude-rubber tire only 25 percent, or even be carried through until the tread was worn smooth, may reduce the life of a synthetic-rubber tire 50 percent or more and result in a blow-out while there is still wear in the tread. In short, these tires must not be overloaded. Their tire bodies contain priceless crude rubber, synthetic rubber, and rayon cord. Equally priceless manpower and manufacturing facilities have been used to build them.

Even when reasonably loaded it is essential that these tires be properly inflated and not subjected to abuse resulting from hitting holes or rocks in the road. As in the case of passenger-car tires, the avoidance of high temperatures is not the only reason for avoiding high speeds—speed accentuates the damage done by the occasional hole in the road and greatly increases tread wear.

If these tires are properly loaded and inflated, are not abused, and are driven at reasonable speeds they can be retreaded and used again. Many can be retreaded more

than once. The resulting extra mileage will cause them to give service closely comparable to that obtained with crude-rubber tires under pre-war average care and conditions. But, if these tires are overloaded, or driven at excessive speeds, or abused, they will fail at low mileages. If so treated there will not be enough materials, facilities, or manpower to make replacements and transportation will fail. The drivers of these tires are destined to play an important part in the future of the rubber program.

All of the foregoing sums up to the conclusion that if synthetic tires are properly used, the treads will give good wear and the tire bodies will stand up so that they can be retreaded. Until more tires are available, however, the careless driver will have to change his habits or stop driving.

Quality of other products

Buna S rubber is still inferior to natural rubber in tubes, particularly those used in tires where the rim equipment is of the drop-center type. The best Buna S tube compounds still tear too easily when hot and are less resistant to abrasion than are natural rubber tubes. But by careful mounting and inflation, they will run to high mileage and few failures need result.

Buna S truck and bus tubes used on flat-base rims are giving many thousands of miles of service without difficulty, although they are less resistant to heat and more subject to tearing and snagging than crude tubes.

From present data, it appears that butyl rubber will be the synthetic desired for most tubes. Such tubes will be better than those of natural rubber from the standpoint of holding air and will resist heat and tearing exceptionally well.

Buna S camelback produces excellent retreads. Here again, the wear resistance of a Buna S truck and bus tire retread will be 10 to 15 percent less than that of a top-grade rubber retread, but it will give equal or better performance than many of the natural-rubber compounds in production before the war. To a large extent the success of the retread is dependent upon the good workmanship of the retreader.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

A large part of the synthetic-rubber program, of necessity, was established on processes that had not been proven either by a pilot plant or by large-scale operation. An active program of research and development was therefore initiated in November 1942 to test the processes so that necessary corrections and modifications could be made to improve the performance and quality of products. To carry out this experimental work, programs were initiated with industrial laboratories, particularly those of companies involved in the construction and operation of the various plants associated with the synthetic-rubber program, as well as with many educational institutions. In most cases, the latter organizations experimented on the long-range characteristics intended to improve processes.

One of the major fields of research and development related to raw materials. Pilot plant work was initiated on a number of the principal processes and such studies have been of material aid to the operation of producing units. One of the main programs undertaken was the elimination of undesirable impurities present in butadiene from most petroleum processes. Several methods have been developed and are in use. These methods not only have made the purity of this butadiene satisfactory but have also made the concentration processes operable.

For many of the processes, catalysts have been developed which appear to give improved performance and offer promise of bettering yields in present plants.

Great progress has also been made in the improvement of specifications for various

materials, and a number of undesirable impurities have been classified and methods for their determination and control have been developed.

All of the styrene processes have operated upon a sufficient scale to assure workability. In the butadiene program, two main processes, the carbide and carbon process employing alcohol and the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey process employing butenes, have operated most satisfactorily on a large scale. Other units are in the initial stages of operation and within a few months their workability will have been ascertained.

An intensive Government-coordinated research and development program has also been carried out in the laboratories of rubber companies and educational institutions on synthetic rubber reactions. Initially a large portion of this work was directed toward insuring satisfactory operation of the copolymer plants. Today the operation of these plants has progressed to a point where their ability to produce rubber is no longer the main problem, and for this reason more and more of the research and development effort is being directed toward improving quality. This effort has developed a number of modifications that are believed to be improvements over present processes.

Copolymerization facilities, intermediate in size between the laboratory and the full-size plant, are few, hence evaluation of improved modifications has been slow. To expedite improvements in quality of the synthetic rubbers, it has been decided to provide new intermediate-size polymerization facilities by the construction of a Government-owned pilot plant at Akron. This unit will be completed within the next few months. The possibility of employing some of the small private plants now used for specialty rubbers is also under consideration. All this work should develop the possibilities of new synthetic rubbers. If any of them prove to be more favorable than the present Buna S, immediate steps will be taken to establish their production on a larger scale.

A Government-owned evaluation laboratory is being built adjacent to the pilot plant in Akron. It will be used for the evaluation of rubberlike materials produced as a result of various Government and private investigations. These facilities should be of material aid in expediting many development phases.

Further to broaden the research program, this Office is sponsoring the construction of several small pilot units to be equipped with 5-gallon polymerization reactors. A certain number of these reactors will be installed in the Akron pilot plant and will be used to evaluate large numbers of suggested methods of improving quality which are not sufficiently developed to justify large-scale production and tests. Others will be placed with various rubber, chemical, and petroleum companies and educational institutions which agree through their own research to further the program.

MANPOWER

Manpower is a serious problem throughout industry today. The production of rubber products and raw materials is being delayed through manpower dislocation.

An important part of the rubber processing industry is located in two serious manpower-shortage areas, Akron and Los Angeles. A large proportion of trained labor is required by the rubber industry and in many instances men of substantial physical strength are needed to handle the heavy weights of truck and airplane tires; smaller men or women cannot do this type of work. Therefore the rubber industry is not only in competition with other industries, but many of the men it most needs are those needed by the Army.

This office is working closely with the War Manpower authorities in Washington and in various regions and is keeping them informed of the manpower problems throughout the industry. The rubber manufacturing industry has organized a group that is giving all its time to this problem. While this office can be of assistance in the over-all manpower problem, it must remain up to the manufacturing industry itself to work out its immediate manpower problems with the various Government agencies involved.

In the field of labor relations, management and leaders of labor have indicated a willingness to cooperate to increase output per man-hour, to reduce absenteeism, and to improve operating conditions and increase efficiency. A very definite proportion of the expected shortage in tires in 1944 can be averted if this cooperation is translated into increased production. In this effort labor and management, working together, will contribute very materially to the general war program.

FEED STOCKS

The principal feed stocks used by the rubber program are benzol, alcohol, and butylenes from petroleum. The first is used for making styrene and is available in the necessary quantities. The Chemicals Division of the War Production Board has the responsibility for supplying us with alcohol and assures us of a sufficient supply. The butylenes used for the program are produced by the catalytic cracking of petroleum and are equally useful in making high-octane gasoline or synthetic rubber. Under normal conditions they would be readily available. Where plants of two tremendous programs are being built simultaneously and are so closely meshed as are the high-octane gasoline and butadiene-from-petroleum programs, it is inevitable that from time to time either supply of or demand for butylenes will run ahead of the other. This has been the case and will continue to be the case for a few months. Under today's conditions where high-octane gasoline is very short, these butylenes could be used to make aviation gasoline ingredients. However, we are assured by the Petroleum Administration for War that we will receive our basic requirements. We have no fear as to their availability.

COSTS AND PRICES OF SYNTHETICS

It is too soon accurately to predict ultimate costs of the various synthetics and the raw materials that go into them. As of today many of the feed stocks are so new that it is almost impossible to predict their ultimate prices in a competitive peacetime economy. But it is safe to say that many of them will be available after the war at much lower prices than were ever contemplated before the war. Every day sees improvements in processing, operating, and management efficiencies, but it will be a great many months before optimum efficiency is reached. The alcohol plants are now using alcohol costing several times prewar costs. Under today's conditions there is no time to determine the byproduct values that unquestionably lie hidden in the wastes from many of the plants, particularly the butadiene-from-alcohol plants.

All of these factors will affect future direct manufacturing costs. Post-war amortization and financial charges will be affected by the extent to which abnormal, as well as normal, costs of building the program are written off as "cost of war." The raw materials from some sources are cheaper than the same raw materials from other sources, but the conditions may be reversed after the war. Some of the processes may not be economically competitive under post-war conditions. Others have every right to hope for a part in a permanent post-war picture. Certain

combinations of low-cost raw materials probably will give direct cost for Buna S that will be less than 15 cents per pound.

The same general situations influence the average cost of the crude rubbers so that with both crude and synthetic the 1944 new supply will be made up of some very cheap and some abnormally high-priced tonnages. Faced with this situation the most practical approach has been to average all of the costs of all of the synthetics under present conditions and all of the crudes now being obtained and then price the various rubbers in such a way that those who are required to use an particular synthetic are not at a serious disadvantage when in competition with those using another.

Based on the above reasoning, crude and synthetics used in making Government products are priced per pound as follows:

	Cents
Crude rubber.....	40
Neoprene (GR-M).....	45
Buna S (GR-S).....	36
Butyl (GR-I).....	33

This office initially recommended a uniform price policy. Being forced, however, to accept certain limitations as to ceiling prices of civilian consumer goods placed upon the Office of Price Administration by statute and Executive order, we and the Rubber Reserve Company agreed with the Office of Price Administration in March to the establishment of a civilian price schedule lower than the above. The advisability of continuing this policy is now being reviewed. This office has again recommended a uniform price schedule based upon that currently pertaining to Government use.

PATENT AGREEMENTS

Shortly after Pearl Harbor the Rubber Reserve Company entered into agreements with a large number of private companies covering the exchange of patent rights and technical information in the fields of buna rubber, butadiene, and styrene. Rubber Reserve Company also made patent arrangements with Standard Oil Development Co. and E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. with respect to the manufacture of butyl rubber and neoprene, respectively. These agreements have served as a basis for the pooling and exchange of technical information necessary to the program and as a basis for the cooperation by the participating companies in the development of improved processes and products, as well as for the settlement of the Government's possible liability for infringement of patents. With respect to butadiene and styrene, a small part (one-eighth cent per pound) of the fees paid to operators was earmarked to cover royalties and provision was made for settlement within this ceiling royalty of claims between the companies involved for the use of technical information and patents. Butyl rubber operations were made royalty-free during the war, and royalties may be payable thereafter, depending upon the extent to which butyl rubber manufacture is carried on by the Government post-war. In the case of neoprene, arrangements were concluded with the University of Notre Dame, effecting very substantial reductions in the royalties otherwise payable. No other neoprene royalties are to be paid during the war.

The original arrangements for the exchange of patent rights and technical information in the field of Buna rubbers were effected under an agreement with the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., B. F. Goodrich Co., Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., U. S. Rubber Co., and Standard Oil Development Co., such companies having contributed most to developments in this field and then being regarded by Rubber Reserve Company as in the best position to develop the production of Buna rubbers on the tremendous scale necessary. Under this agreement, Rubber Reserve Com-

pany received royalty-free rights from the four rubber companies, and Rubber Reserve Company and the four rubber companies received rights from Standard Oil Development Co. which are royalty-free until 6 months after the war but subject to small royalties thereafter until September 1951. Rubber Reserve Company has the right under the agreement to permit outside parties to operate under its license and arrangements have been made for such operation by three groups of smaller companies. These groups are known as the Copolymer Corporation, made up of the Armstrong Rubber Co., Dayton Rubber Manufacturing Co., Gates Rubber Co., Mansfield Tire & Rubber Co., Lake Shore Tire & Rubber Co., Pennsylvania Tire & Rubber Co., Sears, Roebuck & Co.; National Synthetic Rubber Corporation, made up of Hewitt Rubber Corporation, Lee Rubber & Tire Co., Hamilton Rubber Manufacturing Co., Goodall Rubber Co., Inc., Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.; and the General Tire & Rubber Co., in association with the General Latex & Chemical Co.

Most of these patent agreements have provided for the licensing of purchasers or lessees of Government-built plants after the war. Rubber Reserve Company is preparing a digest of its patent agreements and printed copies will shortly be available upon request to the Office of Rubber Director.

Arrangements have also been made by Rubber Reserve Company covering the grant of transferable royalty-free rights in the synthetic rubber field under patents on inventions made in the course of research financed by the Government.

As the program developed, it was felt that the arrangements made in the field of general purpose Buna rubbers were not adequate, and that provisions should be made to expand the benefits of the patent agreement in this field so that they might be made available after the war on a wider basis and in such manner as to encourage general cooperation throughout the industry in the development of better general purpose Buna rubbers, that is Buna rubbers useful for the manufacture of tires and other principal rubber products.

Due to the background and diversity of competing interests in this field, it proved difficult to secure a suitable amendment of the existing agreement. Early in 1942, however, Standard Oil Development Co., which controls the more important patents, offered to grant for the life of their patents to Rubber Reserve Company a royalty-free license covering Standard's patents and improvements in the field of general purpose Buna rubbers, insofar as such patents and improvements related to matters developed prior to the end of the war. The offer included the right in Rubber Reserve Company to grant royalty-free sublicenses to other companies undertaking to assist in the program and agreeing to grant corresponding rights to Rubber Reserve Company. Acceptance of this offer, which was consummated on August 4, 1943, removed all obligation on the part of the Government to pay royalties to Standard in the field of general purpose Buna rubbers, with respect to patents on all inventions and improvements made prior to the end of the war, and made it possible for others who contribute to the rubber program to obtain similar free licenses in this field for operations both during and after the war.

Because of the possible interest of the Alien Property Custodian in certain of the patents of Standard, arrangements have also been made under which the Alien Property Custodian has made available licenses and licensing rights to Rubber Reserve Company over a field including the field of general purpose buna rubbers. Companies executing the standard form of cross-license agreement with Rubber Reserve Company, therefore, receive licenses in the field of general purpose Buna rubbers under patents affected

by vesting orders of the Alien Property Custodian, under patents growing out of the research program financed by Rubber Reserve Company in this field, and under the patents of all other companies executing similar cross-license agreements, including Standard.

Of the four principal rubber companies entering into the original buna rubber agreement, the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., and United States Rubber Co. have already entered into the new standard form of cross-license agreement with Rubber Reserve Company. Execution of the standard form of agreement is also under consideration by a considerable number of other companies. These companies and any others which have not been contacted but which feel they can make a helpful contribution to the program, are free to signify their desire to enter into the agreement. Under the protection of this standard form of agreement, arrangements will be made for further development and for a wider interchange of technical information than was originally possible.

As of today, therefore, and as the result of the arrangements made pursuant to Standard's offer, the Rubber Director is in a position to say to any company willing to assist in the development of better general purpose rubbers of the Buna type that in return for the contribution of its "know how" and patent developments, it can enjoy free rights under the patents of Standard and most of the other companies who have been, and will be, working in this field. It is hoped and believed that this background will lead to the development of improved buna rubbers and to the solution of the technical problems not yet wholly solved.

BRADLEY DEWEY,
Rubber Director.

NOVEMBER 10, 1943.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. STEFAN was granted leave to include within his remarks the text of the report of the progress of the rubber program by Col. Bradley Dewey.)

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mrs. LUCE (at the request of Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts) until Monday, November 15, on account of official business.

To Mr. ROGERS of California for 10 days on account of official business.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 255. An act for the relief of Josephine M. Melchior; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 817. An act for the relief of George A. Rogers; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 921. An act for the relief of Mrs. Neola Cecile Tucker; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 932. An act to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 949. An act for the relief of Mrs. Anna Runnebaum; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1278. An act for the relief of Yellow Cab Runnebaum; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1290. An act for the relief of William Carroll Knox; to the Committee on Claims.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the

House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, November 11, 1943, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

902. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Staff Sgt. Marlon Johnson, United States Marine Corps, and Sgt. George B. Kress, United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Claims.

903. A letter from the Chairman, Reconstruction Finance Corporation transmitting the report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the month of August 1943; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

904. A letter from the Acting Administrator, Federal Security Agency, transmitting quarterly estimates of personnel requirements for the quarter ending December 31, 1943, for various constituent organizations of the Federal Security Agency; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

905. A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting a list of the institutions or organizations whose properties were specifically exempted from taxation by special acts of Congress, in force at time of passage of Public Law 846, Seventy-seventh Congress, approved December 24, 1942, and use made of such specifically exempted property in the calendar year 1942; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

906. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill for the relief of Col. Anderson F. Pitts; to the Committee on Claims.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. FLANNAGAN: Committee on Agriculture. S. 1315. An act providing for the transfer to the custody and control of the Secretary of the Navy of certain lands comprising a portion of Croatan National Forest in the State of North Carolina; without amendment (Rept. No. 851). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, the Committee on Invalid Pensions was discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3416) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Almira W. Gunther, and the same was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KEFAUVER:

H. R. 3646. A bill to amend section 42 of title 7 of the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WEICHEL of Ohio:

H. R. 3647. A bill relating to the recapture and payment to the Treasury of the United States, the excessive profits of more than \$28,000,000 paid for the Red Sea Charters,

and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WICKERSHAM:

H. R. 3648. A bill to provide that abstracts and other evidences of title held by any department or agency relating to real property of the United States shall be given to grantees of such property; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SCOTT:

H. Res. 353. Resolution requesting the Speaker to invite Secretary of State Cordell Hull to address the House of Representatives on the subject of the Moscow Conference; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WICKERSHAM:

H. Res. 354. Resolution granting the subpoena power to the Committee on Agriculture; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. POULSON:

H. R. 3649. A bill for the relief of Mae Ekvall; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 3650. A bill for the relief of Adney W. Gray; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3499. By Mr. BUCKLEY: Petition of Mrs. MacGold and 59 other citizens, protesting against the enactment of any and all prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3500. By Mr. KUNKEL: Petition of 702 residents of the Nineteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, opposing enactment of House bill 2082, the purpose of which is to impose complete prohibition for duration; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3501. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of Visco Rudolph and other citizens of Follansbee, W. Va., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3502. By Mr. HOEVEN: Petition of the members of the Townsend Club, No. 1, of Albert City, Iowa, urging support of the Townsend plan and opposing the Federal sales tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3503. By Mr. ANTON J. JOHNSON: Petition of John W. Tull and 93 members and friends of the Christian Church of Bowen, Ill., protesting the use of alcohol and its evil on our armed forces and urging passage of House bill 2082 now pending before Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3504. By Mr. THOMASON: Petition of a number of people employed in industry in El Paso County, Tex., urging that payments into the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund of the Federal Security Agency not be increased; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3505. By Mr. ROLPH: Resolution of the San Francisco Labor Council relative to legislation recently introduced in Congress calling for increases in the amounts of annuities and benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act, and asking that such an increase be immediately enacted, giving to the recipients a sufficient amount in the light of present economic conditions; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

3506. Also, resolution of the State bar of California, San Francisco, Calif., opposing Senate bill 975 and House bills 2617 and 2466; to the Committee on the Judiciary.